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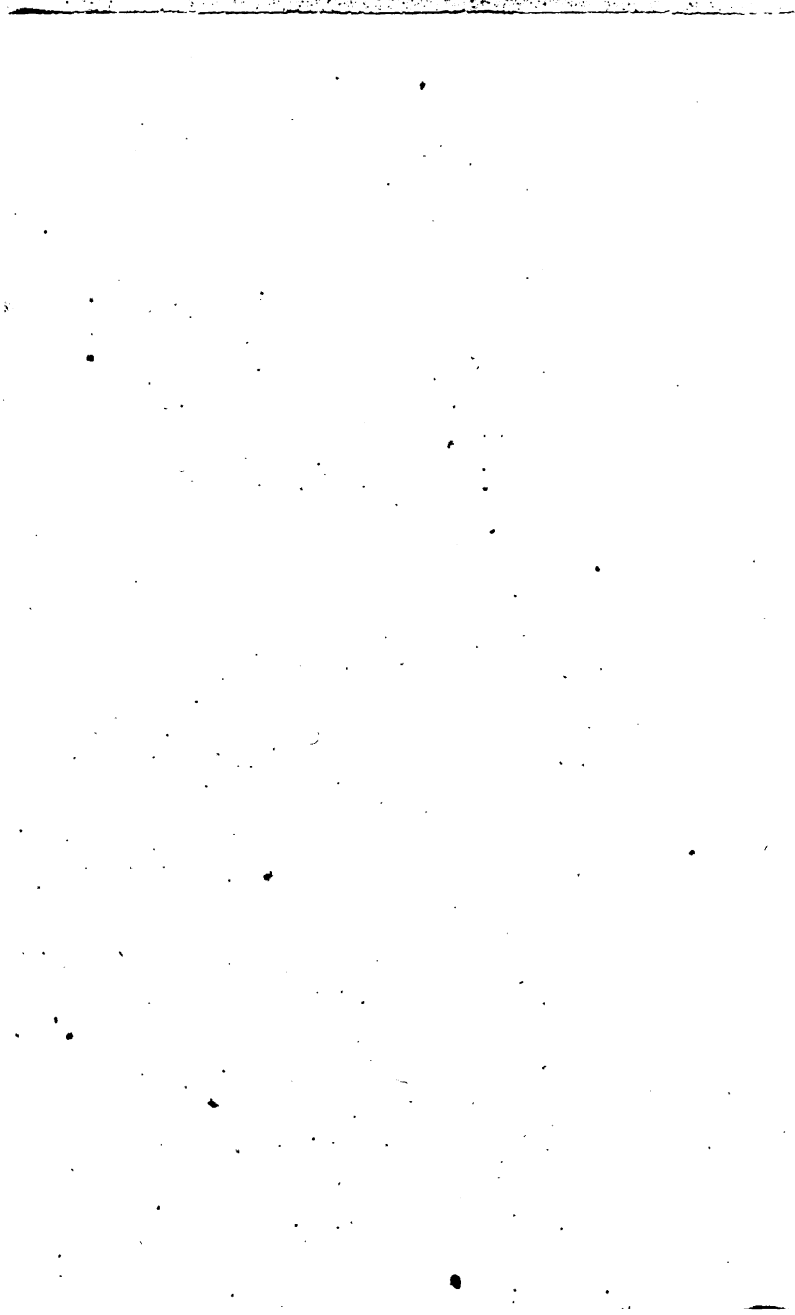


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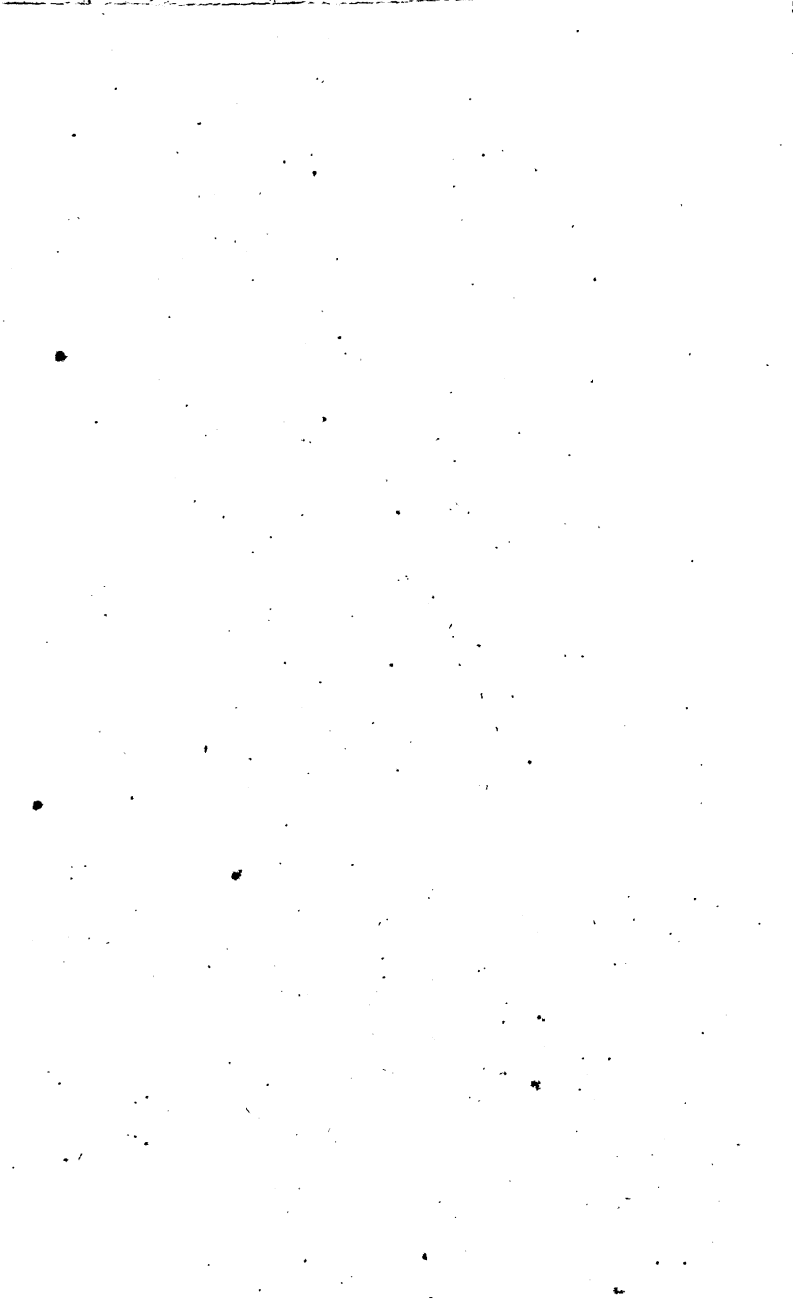
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A
HISTORY
OF
THE CHURCH,

FROM ITS
ESTABLISHMENT TO THE PRESENT CENTURY.

Et portæ inferi non prævalerunt adversus eam.
Matth. xvi. 18.

Non te descrimus, quam primis hæcimus annis,
Religio, Sacri custos sanctissima veri,
Fida comes, tutela, et pectoris hospita nostri.
Santeuil.

BY THE REV. CHARLES CONSTANTINE PISE.

VOL. III.

Baltimore:
PUBLISHED BY P. BLENKINSOP.

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1829.

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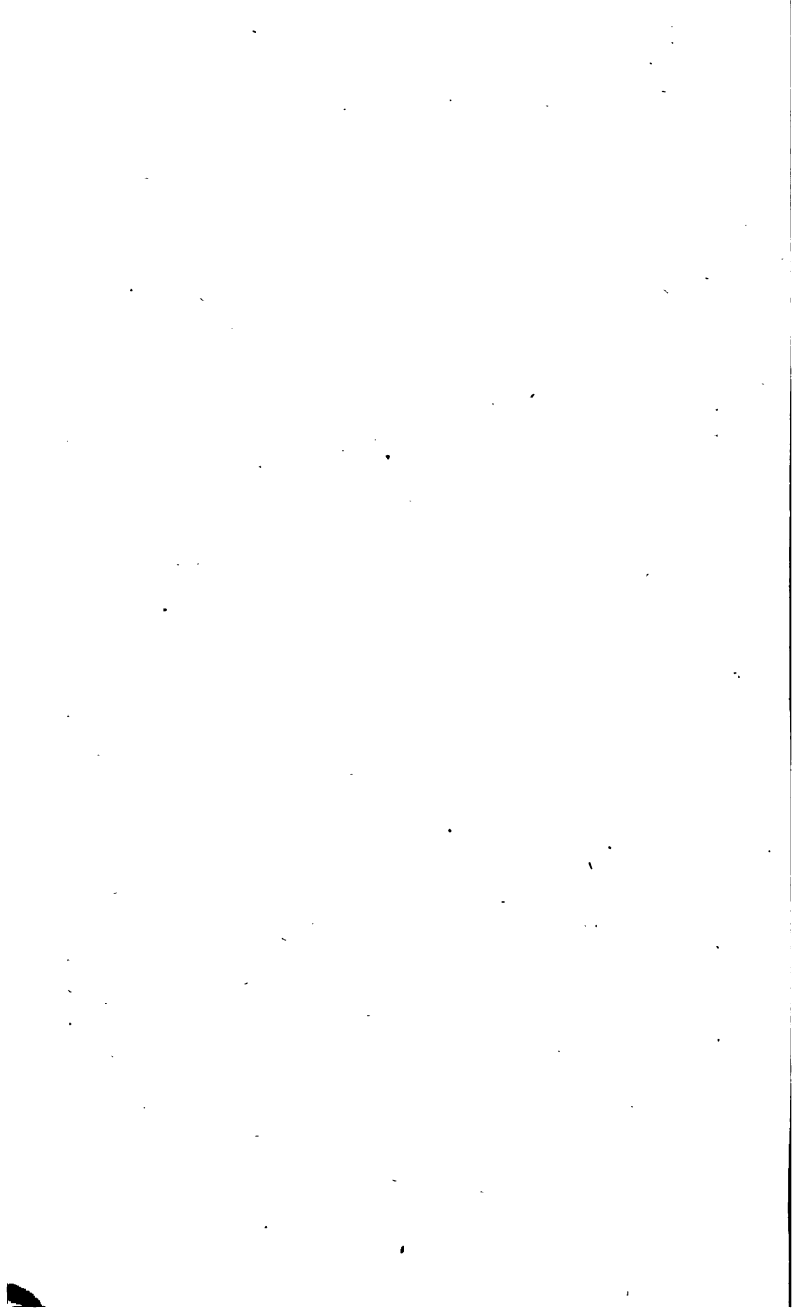
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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

EMPERORS.

THEODOSIUS II.
VALENTINIAN III.

POPES.

BONIFACE, CONTINUED.
CELESTINE.

From the decline of the Western Empire, anno 423, to the death of St. Augustine. Anno 430.

THE name of Rome, which had formerly spread alarm among distant nations, was no longer formidable: the empire was shattered by contending parties; and thousands of gallant warriors were sacrificed to the caprice and ambition of jealous competitors. The barriers raised against the barbarians were thrown down; and hordes of predatory tribes burst like a torrent into the empire: the Alemanni into Germany; the Franks and Burgundians into Gaul; the Picts into Britain; the Goths,

Suevi and Vandals into Spain; the Heruli and Ostrogoths into Italy; and the Lombards into the "eternal City."

Pope Boniface survived Honorius but a few months; and was buried on the Salarian way, in the cemetery of St. Felicitas, martyr. (1) He occupied the Pontifical chair about five years. After an interval of nine days, Celestine, by birth a Roman, was chosen to succeed him.

Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius, had been sent by that prince, with her two sons Valentinian and Honorius to the East, on a suspicion of having an alliance with the enemies of Rome. John, prefect of the Prætorium, a man of low origin, taking advantage of their absence, dared to grasp the sceptre, and sent an embassy to Theodosius, soliciting to be proclaimed emperor. Theodosius seized on the ambassadors, and sent an army against the usurper, who was surrounded with a host of barbarians, at Ravenna. But this immense force melted away at the approach of the christian army: John was defeated, and put to death; (2) Valentinian was immediately pro-

(1) Lib. de Rom. Pontif.

(2) Spond. 224. I. II.

claimed emperor, and tranquillity was restored in the West.

The strength of Augustine was rapidly declining ; but his zeal was still active, and his mind vigorous : he now formed the gigantic design to review all his works, and to prove to the world, according to his expression, "that he did not except his own person." In order to afford himself leisure sufficient to execute so immense an undertaking, he resolved to appoint a coadjutor : having assembled the clergy, he thus addressed them : "We are mortal my brethren ; if the young may *soon* die, the old cannot hope to live *long* : how changed am I from the time when I first came to this city. In order, therefore, that no one may have any room for complaint, I declare in presence of you all, what I hope is conformable to the will of God, that I demand Evodius for my successor." God be glorified, exclaimed the whole assembly. (1) "I shall not" resumed Augustine, "expatiate on the praises of Evodius ; I esteem his merit, and will not offend his modesty : may the Almighty approve of the measure, which he has inspired us to adopt."

(1) Ep. 213 et 214.

There began to prevail at this period, a spirit of rigorism, by which absolution was withheld from some sinners, even in the article of death : against this, Pope Celestine issued a decretal in the following terms : " We have learned, that absolution has been refused to the dying, notwithstanding their desire to be reconciled at that dreadful hour. I declare my sentiments openly ; I cannot but view with horror, such cruel impiety, which implies a despair of God's Mercy." (1).

He also condemned an innovation in the ecclesiastical dress, introduced into Gaul by some foreign bishops : " why," he writes, " change the custom which was adopted in the Churches of Gaul, by so many illustrious bishops ? we should be distinguished from the people not by our dress, but by our manners, nor should we seek to strike the *eyes* of the simple, but to enlighten their *minds*."

Among the most illustrious bishops that flourished during this period in the Church of Gaul, were St. Lupus of Troyes, and St. Germanus of Auxerre.

(1) Cœlest. ep. 2. Tom. 2. Conc.

To oppose the ravages which the Pelagian schism was committing in Great Britain, these holy men were sent into that Island, either by a Gallican synod, or the Pope himself. (1) Germanus was, at this period, the admiration not only of Auxerre, but of all the western church. In his youth he had applied to the study of the law at Rome, married honorably, and was created duke of Auxerre by Honorius. In this capacity he degenerated from the duties of a christian, and devoted his time to the pleasures of the chase; he was the avowed enemy of the bishop Amator, whom he once threatened to kill, for cutting down a tree on which he was accustomed to hang the heads of the animals which he had taken in the chase. He, however, became converted, and after the death of Amator, was chosen to fill the see of Auxerre. His property he divided between the church and the poor, separated from his wife, with her consent, and, in order to live a more retired life, founded the Monastery of Sts. Cosmas and Damian on the banks of the

(1) Vide Spond. ad. ann. 429 II. Prosper expressly says that they were sent by the Pope, chron. ad. an. 429.

river Yonne. Such was the man destined to be an Apostle of Great Britain ; and no one was more worthy than Lupus to be associated with him in the important mission. (1)

Lupus was born at Toul, of a noble family ; and had married Pimeniola, sister of St. Hilary of Arles ; but both parties agreeing to live in perpetual continency, he retired into the Monastery of Lerins. Sometime after, as he was on his way to Toul, whither he was going to distribute his fortune among the poor, he was stopped at Maçon, chosen bishop of Troyes, and governed that Church two and fifty years. On their way to Britain, they past through Paris ; where they met the Virgin Genevieve, who, by a supernatural light, they foresaw was to be the glory of her country. (2)

Genevieve made rapid progress in the way of perfection : to humility and fervour she added unstained innocence, and austere penance ; her nourishment consisted of barley bread and wild herbs ; she lived to a venerable old age.

The two missionaries set sail for Britain, whither their reputation had gone before them ;

(1) Sur. 29. Jul.

(2) Spond. ad. ann. 429 II.

on their arrival, they were welcomed by the acclamation of a countless multitude : and so great was the concourse that pressed to their instructions, that they were obliged to preach in the open fields. (1)

Their first care was to convoke a council at Verulam : the Pelagians deemed it prudent to appear, but with an intention of contumaciously persisting in their errors. Such, however, was the authority with which the missionaries propounded the principles of the true faith, that they challenged the Pelagians to determine the question by a miracle : the experiment was to be made on a blind woman. The sectarians shrunk with despair from the ordeal. The two bishops had recourse to prayer : invoked the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and restored her sight. (2)

(1) "The Pelagian heresy," says Camden, "by means of Agricola had budded forth fresh into this island, and polluted the British Churches, so as to aver and maintain the truth, they sent for German, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, out of France : who by refuting the heresy, gained unto themselves a reverend account among the Britains, but chiefly German, who has throughout the island many churches dedicated to his memory, in Hertfordshire." Page 410.

(2) Cons. cap. 2.

Loud acclamations burst from all sides in favour of Germanus, and the doctrine which he preached : of the Pelagians many anathematized their former errors, and submitted to the yoke of the true faith.

England was at this time, engaged in a war with the Picts, a nation which inhabited the western part of the isle : the Saxons, a colony of Germans, were allied with them, and were now ravaging the coast. Unable to withstand so formidable an enemy, and mistrusting all human exertions, Britain had recourse to her holy missionaries. Germanus was not unacquainted with the military art : he had once wielded the sword for his country, and now offered to march at the head of the British forces. But confiding much more in the assistance of heaven, than in the arms of men, he ordered a solemn prayer to be put up to the "God of Battles." The enemy were suddenly seized with terror, and yielded without the effusion of blood. (1) After this glorious achievement, the two holy prelates returned to their native country.

(1) See Lingard, vol. I, page 72, Amer. ed. as also Camden, p. 378.

Some years after, Pelagianism began to revive: and Germanus revisited Britain a second time, with equal success, in company with S. Severus, bishop of Treves. (1) After these zealous and prosperous exertions in Britain, he bent his way to Ravenna, the seat of the imperial court; where, having sued for pardon in behalf of the Armorici, who had rebelled, he ended his saintly career, in an advanced age. (2)

The empire was convulsed more by internal dissensions, than by the irruptions of the barbarians. In the commencement of the reign of Valentinian III., Aetius, a hardy chieftain, rose in arms against his rival Count Boniface. His ambition could not rest: he invented calumnies against him; and laboured by every means, to ruin his character in the eyes of the Empress Placidia. He asserted, that it was the Count's intention to throw off all connexion with the crown, and usurp an independent title in Africa. In proof of this charge, he adduced his marriage with a Princess of the Vandal race, and his refusing to

(1) Lingard ubi supr.

(2) Cons. cap. 15. 26. 17.

obey the imperial summons when ordered back to Italy. (1)

Aetius wrote to Boniface informing him that his life stood endangered; that the Empress had declared herself his open enemy. Induced by this perfidious calumny, he stood in undisguised defiance to the commands of the Empress: formed an alliance with the Vandals, and putting himself at the head of his troops, marched against the imperial armies, and spread devastation around.

S. Augustine wrote several letters to Boniface, recalling him to his duty, and reminding him of the vanity of all human things. (2)

The advice of Augustine, and the discovery of the plot of Aetius, moved Boniface to repent for his rash proceedings. The Empress, not forgetful of his former services, promised him pardon, provided he would banish from Africa his barbarous confederates. This condition seemed almost impracticable; the Vandals had become attached to their new settlement, and were governed by Genseric, a young, brave, and adventurous leader. Boniface offer-

(1) Proc. bell. Vand. c. 2.

(2) Aug. ep. 220.

ed him a sum of money for his services. "It is a throne," he sternly replied, "for which I have crossed the seas." He refused every pecuniary compensation; and the Count was obliged to have recourse to arms. But such was the number and strength of the Vandals, and Goths, and other barbarous tribes, with which he had to encounter, that he was entirely routed, and pursued as far as Hippo. To this City, Genseric laid seige: and forced it to open its gates to his irresistible warriors.

Boniface fled to Rome, where he died of his wounds. The Vandals then spread themselves without opposition, through the country; burning the villages, and plundering whatever their rapacity could reach, and committing every species of outrage. (1)

They were infected with Arianism, and the avowed enemies of the Catholics. During the seige of Hippo, the public worship was suspended. Churches were burnt, and Virgins and Monks treated with the utmost cruelty. They fled for refuge into the castles; but soon driven thence, were either put to the sword, or con-

(1) Proc. bell. Vand. lib. I.

demned to seek an asylum in the woods or in caverns. Such is the picture of the calamitous times, as described by all contemporary writers, and especially Possidius, in the life of S. Augustine. Of the bishops, many seeing their flocks scattered, fled for safety. S. Augustine remained in the City: his zeal blazed forth with the brightest lustre, on this disastrous occasion: his pastoral solicitude increased; he exhorted his flock to patience and courage: conjured the Almighty either to free the city, to grant his servants grace "to do his holy will, or to take him out of this world before the sack of the city." (1)

In the third month of the siege, (it lasted fourteen months,) S. Augustine was seized with an acute fever; and knew by an inspiration, that his end was approaching. In his last moments, he was deeply impressed with the fear of God's judgments, notwithstanding his long penance, and incalculable labours for the Church. "If," he said "the most innocent souls should not depart from this life, without first repenting, what should be the contrition

(1) Possid. in vit. S. Aug. Vide Spond. ad ann. 430. IX.

of those, who began too late to know, and serve their God?" He caused to be written, and kept continually before his eyes, the Penitential Psalms: in order to excite to his last breath, the liveliest sentiments of contrition. To be left entirely to these salutary reflections, he forbade any one to enter his chamber, except the physician, and his attendants: and after a lingering illness, expired in the seventy-sixth year of his age. (1)

Possidius relates, that God, to prove the sanctity of his servant, restored sight to a blind man, through his intercession. The character of S. Augustine was marked with equanimity: his dress and furniture were modest; his table was frugal; his clergy lived with him, and partook of all things in common. Of his works, Possidius has left no catalogue; they amount to one thousand and thirty, including sermons, letters and some treatises which have not reached us. All are distinguished by profound erudition, strength of reasoning, vivacity of imagination, and propriety of elocution: his style, however, is not always pure: it is fre-

(1) Possid. vit. Aug.

quently subtle, and not untinged with the taste of the times.

In his dispute with S. Jerome, we discover an extraordinary moderation. His book of confessions is an eternal monument of his humility. He surely must have been deeply penetrated with the greatness of God, and his own misery, and impressed with sentiments of compunction and self-abjection, to publish in the face of the world, his evil propensities, errors, and crimes, to represent them in the most glaring colours, and transmit them to future ages.

The memory of this illustrious Doctor, did not, however, escape the censure of fanaticism : every effort was devised to tarnish the lustre of his reputation, by accusing him of favouring the system of predestination. Fifteen articles were industriously circulated, of which the following are a specimen :

- I. By a sad necessity, which is the effect of predestination, men are compelled to commit sin.
- II. The grace of baptism does not efface original sin in those, who are not predestined to

glory; and it will profit them nothing to lead a just and holy life.

VI. and XV. Free will has no effect on man: predestination forces them to good or evil.

VIII. and IX. The redeemer was not crucified for the redemption of all mankind: God wills not the salvation of all.

Prosper, the learned friend of S. Augustine, left nothing undone to vindicate the memory of the illustrious doctor. (1) We need but open his reply to these objections, to be convinced of the vast difference between the doctrine of S. Augustine, and that of the predestinarians. He every where establishes against the Pelagians, and Semi-Pelagians, these principles: that in the present state of fallen nature, man stands in absolute need of the interior grace of Jesus Christ: that he depends on it *alone* for the performance of any supernatural work: that to it, he is indebted even for the beginning of faith: that man can fulfil the commandments if he *will*, and yet his will must be prepared by GRACE: that grace is never wanting to the just: that grace far from

(1) Vide Spond. ad ann. 430 XI.

destroying free will, establishes it ; because it alone, can render salvation possible ; because by it alone, man can practice good works : yet, while it confers the power of acting well, it imposes no necessity ; but it depends on the will to consent, or not to consent. Grace is not always followed by the consent of the will, which can resist, and does too often resist, it : But when the will resists, the fault is not to be imputed to grace, but to itself, because it might have consented : final perseverance is a gratuitous favor which is not granted to all, but which all might obtain, did they comply with every preceding grace. In a word, the doctrine of S. Augustine was that of the Church : "The Church," says Prosper, "in warring against the Pelagians, wielded no other arms than those of Augustine." (1)

(1) Prosp. adv. Collator.

CHAPTER II.

EMPERORS.

THEODOSIUS II.
VALENTINIAN III.
MARCIAN.
MAXIMUS.
LEO.

POPES.

CELESTINE, CONTINUED.
S. SIXTUS.
S. LEO, THE GREAT.

*From the death of S. Augustine, anno 430, to
the pontificate of S. Leo. Anno 439.*

THE Church, it should seem, after the triumphant labors of S. Augustine, would have enjoyed a period of repose : but scarcely had Pelagianism fallen under the weight of his arms, than a new and more daring sect sprang from its ruins : headed not by a masked and timid monk ; but by a patriarch of Constantinople ; the bold, and unrelenting Nestorius : this man was by birth a Syrian, and had enjoyed a reputation as a priest, in the church of Antioch. (1) In consequence of which repu-

(1) Socr. lib. 7. cap. 29.

tation he had been removed from the church of Antioch, and placed like, another Chrysostom, in the patriarchal chair of Constantinople, after the death of Sisinius. (1)

So great was the partisan-spirit existing in the capital, that it became necessary to look into Syria for a successor. Nestorius was chosen : his manners were grave, or rather gloomy and austere ; his countenance pale, and emaciated ; his knowledge superficial ; his eloquence dazzling ; his voice sweet, plaintive, and tremulous ; and his discourses were generally directed against the then existing heresies. He affected the most unqualified esteem for S. Chrysostom, whose memory was in benediction among the people : he took with him from Antioch a priest by name Anastasius, and passed through Mopsuesta, where Theodore the bishop, discovering in him a disposition congenial with his own, communicated to him, it is thought, the germ of that heresy, which afterwards proved so scandalous and pernicious.

In the first sermon which he preached at Constantinople, Nestorius inveighed against

(1) Vide Spondan. ad. ann. 428. V.

heretics in a strain of intemperance which shall never be forgotten : “ Emperor,” he said addressing Theodosius, “ exterminate with me, all sects, and I shall join with you, in exterminating your enemies : and after destroying the enemies of the empire, I shall make you triumph over those of your salvation. (1) This specious zeal charmed the multitude, at that time furious against any thing like heresy : but it was a subject of suspicion to men of reflexion and experience. The severity of Nestorius knew no moderation : he induced the Emperor to enact new laws, and enforce the ancient ones, against heretics : of whom, all were commanded to leave the city, and some were subjected to severe penalties. (2) But all this was a mere ostentation of orthodoxy : Anastasius, his associate, soon began to hazard some novel expressions respecting the Virgin Mary. He then proceeded a step farther : and finally dared openly to preach from the pulpit, that Mary was not *θεοτοκος*, or the Mother of God : but merely *χριστοτοκος*, or the Mother of Christ.

(1) Spond. ubi. ^{supra}.

(2) Lib. 65, de hæret. Cod. Theod. lib. 2.

The patriarch, some time after, ordered the same doctrine to be preached by a bishop, who had been deposed from the see of Marianople : this enthusiast went farther than Anastasius : and pronounced anathema against all who should call Mary *theotokos*: Nestorius himself inculcated the same doctrine : (1) On a solemn festival, when the church was crowded with a multitude of the faithful, having repeated these words of S. Paul : “ Death by man, and by man resurrection,” he thus continued : “ A great question has been started of late ; whether or not Mary should be called Mother of God. Let me ask any one of this multitude, can God have a mother? If he answer in the affirmative, I say the pagans were excusable for having adored their gods : and Paul is an impostor, when he says, that Jesus Christ has neither father, nor mother, nor generation. No, Mary did not beget a God. The creature could not give birth to the creator, but merely to a man, the instrument of the divinity, the anointed of the Lord, the Christ whom I adore.”

(1) Vinc. Lerin. cap. 16.

Such blasphemy from the mouth of the patriarch, excited a general scandal, and a tumult among the people : Eusebius, a lawyer, exclaimed in the name of the multitude : “ We here, with one voice, profess to believe, and such is the universal faith, that the WORD ETERNAL has been born of Mary.” (1) This exclamation was followed by loud acclamations: some days after, Nestorius re-ascended the pulpit, and declaimed against Eusebius : protesting, that the Son of God did not take flesh, nor die for our salvation. Eusebius deemed it his duty, with proper deference to the clergy and prelates, to publish his protestation against the doctrine of the Patriarch : he undertook to prove, that it was a revival of the principles of Paul of Samosata, which had been universally condemned. After the publication, Nestorius began to be regarded as an heretic ; and many withdrew from his communion.

Proclus, titular bishop of Cyzicus, was a strenuous advocate for the dignity of Mary ; he maintained that it was proper to affirm, that the WORD, or God, was born, and died for our

(1) Pars. I Conc. Eph. cap. 13.

redemption. (1) At one of his sermons Nestorius was present : no direct allusion, however, was made to him by the preacher ; piqued at his freedom, and jealous of his oratorical powers, the Patriarch delivered four elaborate sermons against him : these, together with other similar lucubrations, he published : by this means, his doctrine was widely disseminated ; and gradually insinuated itself among the solitaries of Egypt ; of whom, several carried their blasphemies farther than the heresiarch himself.

These innovations soon reached the ears of S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria : a prelate in every respect adapted to the times in which it fell to his lot to govern that Church : he was well acquainted with the human heart ; and not to be seduced by an imposing exterior : difficulties could not dishearten, nor dangers appal, him. His first care was to purge of their errors the infected Monasteries. "How can we doubt," he thus addressed them by letter, "whether or not, Mary should be called Mother? if our Lord Jesus Christ be God, as

(1) Conc. Eph. c. I.

he truly is, according to the holy council of Nice; why is not Mary the Mother of God? Such was the faith of our fathers, and among others of the illustrious Athanasius." (1)

Aware of the reputation which Nestorius enjoyed at court, S. Cyril composed two treatises which he addressed to the emperor and empress. Nestorius persuaded the emperor that the resistance of Cyril would prove a subject of scandal; perhaps of commotion. To this Cyril replied: "you can have no reason to complain, or to rise up against me as a disturber of the public peace which I am labouring to restore: you may easily put an end to the scandal: confess the Virgin Mary to be the Mother of God; this will be the effectual means of restoring tranquillity to the church and state." (2)

Nestorius could not be silenced by reason, nor recalled by argument: he replied to S. Cyril in an artful, and studied address; calumniated the pious arbiter of peace; and infused into the emperor's breast the most fatal prejudices. S. Cyril did not immediately proceed

(1) Ep. Cyril. ad. mon. Conc. Eph. cap. 2.

(2) Ep. 1. ad Nestor.

to extremities ; but deputed to Rome Possidonium, with a letter containing a list of the errors of Nestorius. Celestine had already seen the book said to have been written by the patriarch ; but could not believe it to be the production of one, whom a pious court held forth as a saint. To counteract the effect of Cyril's letter, or at least to prolong the controversy, Nestorius likewise wrote to the Sovereign Pontiff.

- (1) Celestine ordered the letters to be translated into Latin, and proceeded with mature deliberation, in a question, which, he knew, would involve the most important consequences : he convened a synod of bishops according to an ancient custom of the church ; by whom the doctrine of Nestorius was examined, and condemned : and the space of ten days, after the first denunciation, granted him to retract.
- (2)

Celestine wrote at the same time, to S. Cyril, to John of Antioch, Rufus of Thessalonica, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Flavian of Philippi.

- (3) He delegated to Cyril the power of acting in his name : addressed the clergy and people

(1) Baron. ann. Tom. V. 430.

(2) Cyril. ep. ad. Nestor.

(3) Conc. Eph. Pars 1. cap. 19. 20.

of Constantinople, exhorting them to adhere with constancy, and simplicity, to the ancient faith: consoled the monks of Constantinople, who had suffered much for the truth: ordained that no clerk or bishop should be considered truly excommunicated, or deposed, who had been censured by Nestorius, or his partisans: and ordered S. Cyril to condemn Nestorius in case he should prove refractory, and provide a suitable pastor for the see of Constantinople.

In consequence of this commission, S. Cyril assembled a council of bishops at Alexandria. The letter of Celestine was sent to Nestorius, and a formal denunciation given: an exact and solemn abjuration was required; twelve chapters or anathemas were drawn up, to which he was commanded to subscribe. (1) Four bishops were deputed to present to him in presence of the clergy and people, the synodical letter of the council, and the denunciation of the pope. (2) He coolly bade them to meet him the next day, at the church, which they did, but could not obtain admittance: Nes-

(1) For the twelve chapters, the reader is referred to Spond. page 451.

(2) Conc. Ephes.

torius ascended the pulpit, defended his doctrine, and inveighed against Cyril, whom he styled through contempt, "the Egyptian." He read the twelve anathemas, accused the author of having fallen into the heresy of the Apollinarists, and sent a copy to John of Antioch: this prelate, blinded by his attachment to Nestorius, fancied that he descried in them the same errors. Theodoret, bishop of Cyzenum, was also deluded by the crafty innovator: and notwithstanding his learning and virtues, ventured to justify Nestorius, and condemn the proceedings of S. Cyril.

The evil had now advanced to its crisis: and a general council became necessary. The bishops, the orthodox portion of the people, and particularly the clergy of Constantinople, earnestly entreated the emperor to support the interests of the Church, at this menacing period: they drew up a circumstantial account of the impieties of Nestorius, and the excesses of which they had already been the occasion; and conjured him to lend his aid in convening an œcumenical council, to stop the progress of the heresy. Theodosius was attached to reli-

gion, and promised to comply with his request.

(1) Accordingly he sent to Rome a distinguished personage, by name Petronius, to negotiate with the pope on the subject, and to define the time and place of the general convocation. Ephesus, a city situated in a fertile region, and abounding with all the necessities of life, was the place appointed. (2) The time of assembling was specified for the day of Pentecost, in the year 431. S. Cyril, attended by fifty bishops, arrived at Ephesus five days before that festival: Juvenal, of Jerusalem, in company with the bishops of Palestine, arrived about the same time.

Nestorius set out also with ten bishops, accompanied by the Counts Candidian, and Irenæus. (3) The patriarch of Antioch, and the Syrian Bishops, deferred their departure as long as possible: in consequence of their delay, fifteen days were added to the time before designated, at the expiration of which, the Syrian Prelates did not appear: their delay excited suspicion: at length, S. Cyril received a let-

(1) Evagr. hist. c. 7.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 430, VIII.

(3) Evagr. hist. lib. 1, cap. 3.

ter from John of Antioch, in which, he expressed great impatience to join the council, and professed the highest esteem for his person.

On the 22d of June, the council, composed of two hundred bishops, opened in the great church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Nestorius had been juridically cited on the evening before : he protested against appearing until the arrival of John of Antioch : the protest was signed by a considerable number of Thracian, and Syrian prelates ; among others, by Theodoret, who had, by this time, arrived at Ephesus. Count Candidian, too, did all in his power to procrastinate the opening of the council. The Bishops, notwithstanding, assembled : in the middle was erected a throne, upon which the book of Gospels was placed : to represent the person of Jesus Christ, who promised to be in the midst of the pastors assembled in his name. (1) The Bishops were ranged on both sides according to their dignity : S. Cyril, as the presiding prelate and representative of the Roman Pontiff, occupied the first place : next to him sat Arcadius the

(1) Act. Con. Ephes. Et. ap. Cyril. To. 4. oper.

Pope's Legate, then Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Theodotus of Ancyra, orators of the council; and finally, the other Bishops in order. (1) All being seated, Peter, a priest of Alexandria, preferred the charges against Nestorius in the following terms :

“ Nestorius, a short time after his election, disturbed the peace of the Church by his erroneous dogmas : the very pious Bishop of Alexandria wrote several letters to recall him to his duty : the most holy pontiff of the Roman Church deigned also to write to him, after a strict examination of his impious works :” (2) he was then proceeding to read some of the most exceptionable passages from his writings, when Theodoret of Ancyra rising, requested the council before they proceeded, to examine whether they had observed the canonical form in summoning Nestorius : immediately, the bishops who had been deputed to cite him declared that they had : however, they agreed to give him another warning : the bishops, deputed on this occasion, found his house surrounded with armed men, to prevent the entrance of

(1) Spond. ad. ann. 431 VII.

(2) Tom. 3. Conc. p. 421.

any one, from the synod : by a tribune they were told that Nestorius was determined not to appear in the council before the arrival of all the bishops. A third warning was sent him in the following terms :

“ The Holy Synod, conformably to the canons, cites you this day, for the third time : do not refuse to appear at length, and answer to the accusations lodged against you : be assured, that if you obstinately persist, the sacred council will not hesitate to pronounce sentence against you with deep grief, according to the decrees of the Fathers.” The bearers of this summons were not better received than the former : they found his house surrounded, as before, with soldiers, by whom they were treated with contempt : “ *We* are bishops,” they said : “ we came not to offer any violence to the patriarch, but to invite him to the council :” “ and *we*,” replied the soldiers, “ have been stationed here by the most pious Nestorius, with orders to let none of your synod enter.” The bishops returned, and informed the council of the proceedings. “ The aberrations of our brother,” said Juvenal of Jerusalem, “ should

rather excite our pity than our wrath : since, therefore, we cannot save our brother, let us proceed to secure the deposit of faith :” (1)

The Nicene Symbol was then recited : Peter of Alexandria proposed that the letter of Cyril should be read, and contrasted with the symbol : it was found perfectly conformable to it in every particular : the writings of Nestorius were then examined : Anathemas were pronounced by Juvenal, and ratified by the whole council : the letters of Pope Celestine to Nestorius, as also that of the council of Alexandria were read : after this, many passages of the most revered Fathers were adduced ; such as S. Cyprian, S. Athanasius, Popes Julius, and Felix, S. Ambrose, S. Basil, and the two Gregories : fresh anathemas were repeated against the impiety, and temerity of Nestorius : his condemnation was couched in these terms : “ Nestorius, having refused, not only to answer the summons of the council, but even to receive the venerable bishops ; we could not but proceed to an investigation of his impious works : convinced of his sentiments, both in

(1) Act. Eph. To. 2. cap. 2.

public and private ; compelled by the canons, and holy fathers of the Catholic Church ; we have past, and with tears in our eyes pronounce, the following judgment. Our Lord Jesus Christ, outraged by the blasphemies of Nestorius, has ordained by this holy council, that the said Nestorius be deprived of the episcopal dignity, and banished from all ecclesiastical meetings and assemblies ;" and again : "To Nestorius a second Judas," "from the council assembled by the the Grace of God, at Ephesus, according to the orders of our religious emperor : Know, that in consequence of your impious doctrine, and contumacious resistance to the authority of the canons, you have been deposed by the sacred council, according to the laws of the Church, and that you have forfeited your ecclesiastical dignity ; the 22d day of the present month of June." Thus ended the first session which continued from morning until night : the people were anxiously awaiting the issue : when informed of the condemnation and deposition of the heresiarch, they showered their blessings on the Fathers of the council : the most distinguished citi-

zens escorted them, with flaming torches, to their dwellings; the city was illuminated; the streets resounded with the praises of Mary. S. Cyril immediately gave information of the event to his clergy at Constantinople; and in a particular manner, to S. Dalmacius, the chief of all the Monasteries of Constantinople. (1)

Letters were written to the emperor, informing him of the contumacy of Nestorius, and the proceedings of the council: the fathers implored his assistance in the extirpation of the heresy: conjured him to burn the impious writings of the innovator; and declare that whoever should condemn what had been decreed, should incur his imperial displeasure. (2) Candidian used every exertion to prevent the letter from reaching the court: and wrote himself an account of the synod, in which he calumniated the bishops, and accused S. Cyril of precipitancy, tumult, and violence: the letter concluded with this specious appeal: "We conjure you, since we have been sent hither by your command, to provide for our safety; and

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 431. IX.

(2) Act. Eph. To. 2. cap 22. ap. Cyril ep. Syn. I.

to grant us, at least, the privilege of returning without peril to our homes: if you are determined that the council should assemble, see that it convene according to the law: let no priest, no bishop, be present who has not been invited by name; let only two bishops attend, with their Metropolitan, from each province." This letter was subscribed by eleven bishops.

In the meantime, Candidian carried on an open persecution against the fathers, and caused them to be publicly insulted by the soldiery, and the licentious satellites, whom Nestorius attracted around him: On the 27th of June, John, Patriarch of Antioch, accompanied by his bishops, arrived at Ephesus. (1) By the Catholics, a deputation of the clergy and bishops was sent to welcome him: he met them with coolness; heard, with an air of disdain, of the proceedings of the council: and when told that Nestorius was condemned, caused them to be driven away with stripes. (2) After this scandalous affair, John bent his way to the place in which was convened a tumultuous as-

(1) Evagr. lib. 1 cap. 5 Act Eph. T. 3 cap. 1.

(2) Spond. 431. X.

sembly of Nestorian Bishops. (1) This conventicle deposed S. Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus : excommunicated all the other bishops, unless they would consent to condemn the twelve chapters, and restore the Prelates who had been deposed for pelagianism. The acts of this meeting were subscribed by forty three bishops, among whom was Theodoret : they were not, however, published at Ephesus, but sent to Constantinople, with letters to the emperor and clergy.

Such was the situation of affairs when the Pope's legate reached Ephesus : on the day of their arrival, the 10th of July, the second session was opened in the episcopal palace. S. Cyril still occupied the first place : next to him sat Arcadius, one of the legates ; then Juvenal, and Theodotus, the orators of the council ; and then the other two legates, Projectus bishop, and Philip, priest of the Roman Church.

Philip presented the pontifical letters, and requested that they should be read, and inserted in the acts of the council : as soon as they were read, all exclaimed, "it is the voice of

(1) Apol. Cyril.

wisdom ; it is justice itself that speaks : thanks to Celestine, a second Paul ; and to Cyril who represents him."

The Legates were then informed, that the council had unanimously condemned the contumacious heretic. Philip, thanked the council for their acclamations : " you are not ignorant," said he, " that Peter is the chief of the Apostolic Body, and of the true religion. We, therefore beseech you, as we could not attend before, to give us a detailed account of the circumstances of his condemnation, that we may communicate them to our most holy father the Pope ; and ratify them by our authority."

Theodoret of Ancyra replied in the name of the council ; " that the letters of the Sovereign Pontiff, and the declaration of the Legates, corresponded, in every respect, with the judgment of the Fathers. It was not difficult to satisfy the Legates : by a mere reading of the acts, they would be convinced of the justice of his condemnation ; and the faith of the bishops assembled." This was done, and the council adjourned. On the following day, they assembled in the church : the Legates were

requested to deliver their opinions of the acts which had been read the preceding evening. Philip said; "It has been always admitted, that Jesus Christ intrusted the keys of his kingdom to Peter, prince and chief of the apostles, the pillar of faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church : that, that Apostle lived and judged in his successors : that in virtue of this succession, Celestine had deputed him, and his colleagues, to supply his absence : and that Nestorius had been justly condemned." The other Legates agreed with Philip, and subscribed their names.

On the 10th of July, the fourth session was held, in the church of the Blessed Virgin : S. Cyril and Memnon, complained of the audacity of John of Antioch, and his conventicle : upon which it was agreed, that John should be immediately summoned before them : three prelates were therefore commissioned to cite him. John replied, that they were excommunicated, and unworthy of an answer : the summons was repeated a second, and a third time. (1) The council annulled the sentence of excommuni-

(1) Baron. ann. To. V. hoc. an.

eration pronounced against them, by the schismatical conventicle: separated from their communion all, who were concerned in it; and threatened, should they continue obstinate, to depose them. An account of these proceedings, was sent to the emperor, and the pope.

(1)

In vain did the catholic prelates proceed with so much circumspection: the artifices of the Nestorians proved more successful: every means was taken to prevent the letter of the council from reaching the court: and libel after libel, calumny after calumny, flowed into Constantinople. The emperor having received the letters of John of Antioch, and his partisans, and none from the fathers of the council, considered their silence a sufficient proof, that their proceedings were irregular: he despatched to Ephesus, several officers, all of whom, debauched by the bribes of Candidian, were the echoes to the emperor, of the Nestorians. Count Irenæus, the declared enemy of S. Cyril, went in person to Constantinople and

(1) To. 3. cap. 16.

eulogized the conduct of the schismatical bishops. (1)

The sixth session was held in the episcopal palace, on the 22d of July: in this, a symbol of faith was drawn up.

The mind of the emperor became extremely perplexed: with a view of obtaining correct information of what was going on in the council; he despatched to Ephesus, John, styled the Count of the sacred largesses: (2) with great expedition he hastened to the city; but had scarcely entered its gates, before he was bribed: and without investigating the matter, declared, that Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon, were justly deposed: and, for the peace of the city, ordered them to be incarcerated. He then wrote to the emperor, that Cyril had been condemned by the whole council. The orthodox prelates gave also, a statement of their miserable condition; and conjured him, to permit S. Cyril, and Memnon, to return to the council. (3)

The clergy of Constantinople heard, with indignation, of the transactions at Ephesus; and

(1) Tom. 3. cap. 16. (2) Ep. Cyril. Conc. Eph.

(3) Vide Spond. ad. ann. 431. XVII.

with one accord, appealed to the honour, the religion, and the virtue of the emperor : urged by these solicitations, and directed by the advice of Pulcheria, his most virtuous sister, Theodosius resolved to assume a more decided attitude : wherefore, he wrote to Count John to send to Constantinople seven bishops from each party ; with whom he might confer in person, and thus bring the affair to a speedy conclusion. On the side of the Catholics, besides Peter the Apostolic legate, were sent the following bishops : Arcadius, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavian of Philippi, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Theodotus of Ancyra, Acacius of Miletus in Armenia, and Euoptius of Ptolemais : of the schismatics the deputies were, John of Antioch, Paul of Emesis, Himerius of Nicomedia, Macarius of Laodicea, Apringius of Chalcis, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Heladius of Ptolemais. (1) S. Cyril, who remained at Ephesus, wrote his apology to the emperor, of which the object was to exculpate himself from the accusations alleged against him by his enemies. (2)

(1) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 451. XIX.

(2) Act. Eph. To. 5. cap. 2.

The result of this deputation proved triumphant to the cause of religion : five days were spent in close deliberations : after which, the Emperor, having detected the impiety and bad faith of the schismatics, ordered them to return to their homes. Nestorius was permitted to remain four years in the monastery of S. Euprepius, near Antioch ; after which he was banished into the wild deserts of Oasis. (1) Candidian, Irineus, and John were disgraced. In the room of the fallen Patriarch was chosen Maximianus, a monk of sound faith, but of no eloquence. (2) His first care was to write to S. Cyril a letter, extolling, in the highest terms, his zeal, solicitude, and unbending courage, in support of the Church : and, in concert with the Emperor, sent an embassy to Celestine, congratulating him on the termination of a long and dangerous dispute. (3) After this signal victory over the enemies of the Church, an immortal trophy was erected by the faithful : *Mary Mother of God* was proclaimed in every quarter : the prayer *Holy Mary Mother of God*

(1) Evagr. lib. 1. c. 7.

(2) Liber. Breviar cap. 7.

(3) Spond. ann. ut. supr. XXII.

&c. was added, it is generally believed, to the angelical salutation: and Pulcheria erected to her honour a most august temple. (1)

Celestine did not long survive this important event: after a glorious pontificate of eight years and a half; he died in the beginning of the year 434, and was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Salarian way. (2) He was succeeded by Sixtus III. a Roman.

The Pontificate of Celestine has been immortalized by the conversion of an Island, which has since proved a cradle of saints, and a monument of the triumph of Religion, over persecution. The apostle of that Island, was the illustrious St. Patrick; by birth, according to Spondanus, a Scotsman, (3) according to Camden, an Englishman; (4) and nephew of St. Martin, of Tours. Palladius had before carried the light of the Gospel into Scotland, perhaps into Ireland; but being taken off by premature death, the glory of that conquest was reserved for St. Patrick. By his extraor-

(1) Niceph. lib. 14 cap. 2.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 434. II.

(3) Camden Ireland. B.

(4) Spond. 431. XXV.

dinary labours he soon converted the Monarchs of the Island, Aengus, king of Munster, and Eogan, king of Ulster. He is said to have consecrated three hundred and sixty-five Bishops; and ordained three thousand Priests. He established his metropolitical see at Armagh, where, after a long and laborious life, he died and was buried.

That the reader may form some idea of the prosperity of religion in Ireland, almost immediately after its conversion; I shall cite a passage from Camden, leaving it in the quaint and original style of the translator. "The Irish scholars of Patrick, he says, profited so notably in christianitie, that in the age next following: Ireland was termed *sanctorum patria*, that is the native country of saints; and the Scottish monks in Ireland and Brittain, highly excelled for their holiness and learning; yea, and sent out whole flocks of most devout men into all parts of Europe, who were the first founders of *Luxeuil* abbey in Burgundie, of *Bobbie* abbey in Italy, of *Wirtzburg* abbey in Francland, of *St. Gallus* in Sweitzrland, of *Malmesburie*, *Lindisfarn*, and many other mo-

nasteries in Britain. For out of Ireland came *Caelius Sedulfus* a priest, *Columba*, *Columbine*, *Colman*, *Aidan*, *Gallus*, *Kilhan*, *Maidolph*, *Brendan*, and many others celebrated for holy life and learning." (1)

Sixtus III, on his accession, took every means to restore peace to the Oriental Church: he confirmed the acts of the council of Ephesus, and wrote letters to Nestorius and John of Antioch, conjuring them to return to their duty. (2) To the latter S. Cyril also wrote an explanation of his conduct, and a clear exposition of his doctrine. The answer of John was of a consoling nature: He admitted the true faith, condemned Nestorius and his partisans, and made his peace with the Holy See, S. Cyril, Maximianus of Constantinople, and the whole Church. Paul, bishop of Emesa, was sent to Alexandria by the Syrians, and after having a conference with S. Cyril, publicly preached to the people of Alexandria, that *Mary is the Mother of God*. (3)

(1) Id. *ibid.* D. In an ancient Distich, quoted by him, the Irish are called "*Sophia claros*," famous for learning.

(2) Spond. 434 III.

(3) Spond. 434 V.

Of the other bishops who had defended the errors of Nestorius, Theodoret became penitent, and reconciled with S. Cyril : (1) The rest were all deposed, and six banished. But the schism was not extinguished : it had spread into India ; between the Tigris and Euphrates a Nestorian patriarch was created, and many bishops and archbishops were appointed. On the demise of Maximianus of Constantinople, a bold attempt was made to restore Nestorius : but it failed ; and Proclus, an ancient disciple of S. Chrysostom, was chosen patriarch. (2) To have been the friend of that venerable man, whose name was in benediction among the people, was a sufficient recommendation. With a view to shew his respect to his memory, and satisfy the desires of the faithful, he resolved to translate his relics from Comanœ to Constantinople. (3) Accordingly they were put into a silver shrine, and carried on the shoulders of priests ; the monks and clergy preceding with lighted torches, and singing hymns : in this way they were carried to Chalcedon ; and thence by water to the capital : the Bos-

(1) Theod. ex. 1. ad Sperad. lib. 4. in Nestor.

(2) Socr. lib. 7. c. 19.

(3) Marcell. in Chron.

phorus was covered with boats, and re-echoed with hymns. On reaching Constantinople, the procession moved through the principal streets, and stopped at the basilick of the apostles, where the relics were deposited, on the 27th of January, 438. (1) In the same year, the relics of the forty martyrs, who suffered under Licinius in Armenia, were also translated with great pomp. (2)

The empress Eudocia, after marrying her daughter Eudocia to the young Valentinian, in compliance with a vow, set out to Jerusalem, where she remained a year; erected several monasteries, and rebuilt the walls of the city. (3)

The following year, 439, Theodosius enacted a law forbidding the pagans to offer public sacrifices: (4) S. Cyril, and several other holy doctors laboured for the total extirpation of idolatry: he composed a learned refutation of the writings of Julian the apostate, which before had never been answered. Theodoret published; at the same time, a work in twelve books, entitled, *de correctione Græcorum affect-*

(1) Spond. 438. III.

(2) See. lib. 9. c. 2.

(3) Evagr. lib. 1. c. 20.

(4) Novel. Theod. Tit. 5.

tinum ; in which he displays a fund of learning and eloquence : shews the absurdity of the pagan system ; expatiates on the providence of God, the creation of the world, and the principle of being : contrasts the apostles with profane legislators, the prophecies with the false oracles, and the courage of the martyrs with the achievements of pagan heroes. This work is esteemed one of the master-pieces of antiquity.

In the West, Divine Providence raised up an illustrious doctor, in the person of S. Peter, surnamed Chrysologus : by Sixtus, he was created bishop of Ravenna, in the room of John who died in 433. Of his homilies sixteen are extant : which, though remarkable for a peculiarity of style, and a play upon words, are nevertheless solid and admired.

In Africa, the fierce Genserik was waging war against the Church : he commanded all the orthodox bishops, under pain of death, to deliver up the sacred vessels, ornaments, and books : and then banished them, or reduced them to the condition of slaves. Of those who suffered martyrdom, under this tyrant, the

most illustrious were four noble Spaniards, by name Arcadius, Probus, Paschasius, and Eutychius. (1) They had been the favourites of Genseric : but for refusing to become Arians, they were proscribed, exiled, and put to death. In the beginning of this persecution, Sixtus III. died, after a pontificate of nearly eight years. He was buried on the Tiburtine way, near the body of S. Lawrence. (2)

(1) Prosp. in Chron.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 440. I.

CHAPTER III.

EMPERORS.

LEO, CONTINUED.
MAJORIAN.

POPES.

S. LEO, THE GREAT.

*From the Pontificate of S. Leo the Great, anno
440, to his death. Anno 461.*

AFTER the demise of Sixtus, the pontifical chair remained forty days vacant : when Leo, a deacon of the Roman Church, by birth a Tuscan, was chosen to fill it. In this great man were joined two eminent qualifications : a profound humility, and an extraordinary elevation of mind.

The same year died John of Antioch, after having governed that church thirteen years : (1) and was succeeded by Domnus his nephew,

(1) Theodoret. ep. 83. in cod. Vatic. recit. Baron. annal. To. VI. an. 444.

who had been a monk, but abandoned his monastery, and went to Antioch under the pretence of reclaiming his uncle. (1)

S. Cyril survived about four years : during which his labours were unremitted : (2) he governed the church of Alexandria thirty two years ; and died in June 444. (3)

Of the many works of S. Cyril, I shall mention only his *Dialogues on Religion : Commentaries on the Pentateuch : on Isaias, the twelve minor Prophets, and S. John* : many epistles and homilies, especially the *Paschal Instructions* : all of which are extant, and constitute an important portion of the sacred treasures of antiquity. S. Cyril was succeeded by his arch-deacon Dioscorus ; a man who, under the guise of sanctity, concealed a corrupt and wicked heart : he was in principle an Originist, and an Arian : he was an homicide, a perjurer, an incendiary, and of the most depraved morals.

Two years after S. Cyril, died Proclus : and was succeeded in the see of Constantinople by Flavian, a man of great learning, and sanctity of life. S. Leo was raised to the papal chair,

(1) Spond. an. 440. IV. (2) Conc. Chalc. Act. 3.
 (3) Vide Spond. ad ann. 444. III.

at a period, when the most eminent qualities were necessary in the Supreme Pastor: before his election, he had given proofs of the disinterestedness of his zeal, and his sound faith: but his zeal blazed with greater lustre, and his fortitude was tried in a much more critical ordeal, after his elevation.

No sooner was Dioscorus seated on the patriarchal chair of Alexandria, than according to custom, he sent a deputy to Rome to have his election ratified by the pope. Leo returned a paternal answer: and assured him, that they should have but one heart, and one soul: he advised him, however, to change the custom of the church of Alexandria, of conferring ordination on any day, without requiring any preparatory fast: he desired him to perform all ordinations on Saturdays, after the necessary preparation, according to the Roman custom.

(1)

The remnants of Manichæism were still lingering in Rome: to extirpate the sect, Leo ordered all their books to be burnt: and in his discourses to the people, exposed the turpitude

(1) Ep. 81.

and impiety of the system. (1) The emperor Valentinian, by a special decree, had declared them infamous: and incapable of making any civil contract: by this means, many were reclaimed in Italy. Spain in like manner was infected with the remains of Priscillianism: this sect, it was hoped, had been entirely extinguished, but it again made its appearance during the invasion of the barbarians.

In a letter to Turibius, a holy bishop, Leo recapitulated the cruelties which had been exercised against this sect by Ithacius a bishop, who, on this account, had been condemned: he reminds him, that the Church was protected by the secular power; and many of the fanatics through dread of punishment, had been brought back to their duty: but since the execution of the laws had been suspended by the public calamities, and some unfortunate pastors had fallen victims to the moral distemper, it would be necessary, in order to apply an effectual remedy to the disorder, to convene a council: accordingly the bishops assembled, and drew up a circumstantial profession of faith; which

(1) Prosp. in Chron.

all were required to subscribe : by some of the sectaries it was signed through policy merely : so that the most active vigilance was requisite to check the progress of the evil.

Meanwhile, there occurred in Gaul a circumstance which deserves to be remembered : as it proves, that the supremacy of the pope was admitted, and defended, by the emperors. There had been agitated, for a long time, a question between the archbishops of Arles and Vienne : the former claimed the right of ordaining the bishops of the province of the latter : and in order to preserve union between the two prelates, it had been determined in the council of Turin, that each one might execute his jurisdiction over the cities nearest him. To this, the archbishop of Arles refused to agree : and persisted in his claim over the province of Vienne. The same dispute was revived at this period : Hilary of Arles vindicated the ancient claims of his see ; deposed a bishop of the province of Vienne, and consecrated another in his place. The better to defend his cause, he went in person to Rome : a council was convened, but without waiting the

result, or obtaining permission, he abruptly returned to Arles. Leo wrote to the bishops of Vienne, pronounced null what Hilary had presumed to do, and declared the province of Vienne independent of Arles : (1) and that no further disturbance might be caused on the part of Hilary, he appealed to the authority of the emperor : a rescript was immediately issued to the following effect : " Since the supremacy of the apostolic see has been corroborated by the authority of the sacred council, let nothing be done contrary to the prerogatives of that see : the peace of all the churches will be preserved, when all shall submit to their common pastor." &c. (2)

Although there can be no doubt, that Hilary persisted with too much of human nature, in the vindication of what he deemed his rights, still his sanctity was known and admired, by his contemporaries, and entitled him to a place on the calendar of saints. (3)

(1) Leo ep. 89.

(2) Vide Spond. ad ann. 445. IV. V.

(3) Martyr. Rom. 5. maii. He is praised by S. Eucherius in a work entitled, *De laude Eremitarum*; by Prosper in *chron.* by Gen-
nadius in his book of ecclesiastical writers, &c. Vide Spondan.
ad ann. 446. VI.

Among the most zealous opponents of the Nestorian schism, Eutyches, a priest and a monk, had stood conspicuous : (1) but not knowing how to check his rapid course, he was himself hurried away into an error, by which he denied the two natures in Christ : and asserted that it was little better than Nestorianism to confess two distinct natures conjoined, without one being confounded with the other : " At first," says Liberatus, (2) " he preached that Christ was not consubstantial with us according to the flesh, but that he derived his body from heaven : " and then varying his doctrine, he maintained, " that before the union there were two natures, after it but one nature, in Christ." This error was first detected, and its author frequently admonished, by Eusebius, bishop of Dorileum in Phrygia : but persisting in it, he was summoned before a council of bishops then sitting at Constantinople, with Flavian the patriarch at the head. Eutyches refused to obey the summons, under the pretext, that he had laid it down as an inviolable rule, never to go out of his monastery : at the

(1) Leo ep. 6.

(2) Liberat. breviar. cap. 11.

same time declaring, that he would hold to the scripture, and cared not what sentence the synod might pronounce against him. As, however, he feigned repentance, the space of seven days was granted him : he quitted the monastery, and went to the palace ; where, through the eunuch Chrysaphius, he laid his complaint before the emperor Theodosius ; and prayed, that he might be accompanied to the council by Florentius the patrician : on his requesting the above mentioned term, Flavian made the following observations, which evince the goodness of his heart, and the purity of his intentions.

“ We shall not press the innovator beyond his strength : we are neither cruel nor unreasonable : God gives health, and we must have patience till he gets better : he will discover in us so many fathers, and brothers : he is no stranger : he is our friend : let him appear with confidence, and we will forget the past : do I desire his destruction ? do I wish to see him debased ? God forbid : what I do, is for the best ; what more could I do ? ” (1)

(1) Cons. Chalced. act. 1.

At the expiration of the term, Eutyches made his appearance with Florentius : he was immediately commanded to answer to the accusations against him. "Before the union," he replied, "I believe there were two natures, after it, but one." Flavian then ordered him to retract his errors. "Do you acknowledge," said he, "the union of two natures in Jesus Christ?" "I do," replied Eutyches : "Do you admit that Jesus Christ as man, is *consubstantial* with us?" this was the great point in question : "I am not here to dispute," he returned, "and it little becomes man to reason on the Divine Nature." "But," resumed the patriarch, "do you not believe, that Jesus Christ the Son of God, is consubstantial to his Father, according to his divinity, and consubstantial to man, according to his humanity?" "As I believe the body of Jesus Christ to be the body of a God," replied Eutyches, "I do not maintain that it is the body of a man, but a human body : and if I *must* add, that it is consubstantial with our own, I do so, with your holiness : " "It is then through compulsion," returned Flavian, "that you confess the faith, not

through conviction :” “Hitherto,” he answered, “I dared not reason on the Divine Nature; but since your holiness now instructs me what to admit, I yield to your judgment.” (1)

The Patrician, provoked at the chicanery of Eutyches, demanded whether or not he believed the two natures in Christ after the incarnation? Eutyches replied, “that he admitted two natures before the union, but only one after the union.” The council, then impatient at the equivocations of the cavilling monk, declared, that he must unconditionally anathematize whatever is contrary to the doctrine of the church: “Hitherto,” he replied, “I did not hold that doctrine: now that ye have taught me, I embrace it: but I never discovered it in the scriptures, nor have the fathers admitted it. Wo to me, therefore, were I to pronounce anathema against it, this would be to anathematize the holy doctors.” At this the fathers rose up with indignation: “let him be anathematized,” exclaimed Flavian! then resuming his accustomed mildness, he repre-

(1) Concil Chalced. ubi supr. From the reply of Eutyches, it must appear that the art of subterfuge and subtle sophistry is not of recent invention?

sented to him, that he still had time to obtain pardon : think seriously, added the Patrician, what difficulty can you have to confess, with the Church, the two natures of Jesus Christ, and acknowledge that our Redeemer is consubstantial with us? I have read in S. S. Cyril, and Athanasius, returned Eutyches, that before the union, Jesus Christ had two natures : but after it, there remained but one. Florentius continued, " tell us in a word, do you, or do you not, admit the two natures after the union ?" " Read Athanasius," replied Eutyches, " you will find nothing like it in his works."

We cannot *force* him to believe, said the council, but faith will triumph over pride and obstinacy. Eutyches was then condemned, deposed from the priesthood, and his partisans were excommunicated : the sentence was subscribed by thirty two bishops, and twenty three priests. (1)

Eutyches, in his turn, wrote to Rome, complaining that he had been unjustly condemned, and appealing to the tribunal of the Sovereign

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 448. IV. V.

Pontiff: he also presented a memorial to the emperor, whom he prevailed upon, through his patron Chrysaphius, to write in his behalf to Leo. (1)

The patriarch Dioscorus, whose character has been described above, gave himself as an instrument, in support of the errors, and person, of Eutyches. The Princess Pulcheria declared against Eudoxia for him. (2) Chrysaphius assured Dioscorus of his influence on all occasions, provided, he should undertake the cause of Eutyches: Dioscorus wrote to the emperor, persuading him, that the affair was of such consequence, that nothing less than a synod could set it at rest. To the convocation of the council Leo gave his consent; but such was the fraud of the Eutychians, that they excluded from the synod by name, Ibas, bishop of Eddessa, and Theodoret, two of their most powerful opponents, on the ground that they were tinctured with Nestorianism.

Leo deputed to Ephesus, three Legates: viz. Julius, bishop of Puteoli, Renatus, cardinal priest of S. Clement, and Hilarius, a dea-

(1) Ap. Leon. Ep. 6. 8. 12. 15. (2) Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 47.

con of the Roman Church: with them he sent his celebrated epistle to Flavian, which was meant as a circular to all the Churches of the east and west; and an antidote against the heresy of Eutyches. (1)

In the month of August 449, the synod opened at Ephesus: there were present, an hundred and twenty eight bishops: Dioscorus presided by the authority of the emperor. Dominus of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavian of Constantinople, Thalassius of Cæsarea, and Stephen of Ephesus, attended. Eutyches made his appearance in person: neither his extreme age and infirmities, nor yet, his solemn vow never to leave his monastery, could prevent his journey: his accuser, Eusebius of Dorilœum, was not admitted: Eutyches presented in writing, his confession of faith: submitted to the decrees of the council of Nice, and the first council of Ephesus: and anathematized the errors of Manes, Valentinus, Apollinaris, and Nestorius: after which, he accused Eusebius of calumny, and the patriarch Flavian of injustice. (2)

(1) Leo ep. 10.

(2) Vide Spond. ad ann. 449. IX. X.

The orthodox prelates represented, that the object of the convocation was, to settle matters of faith. Dioscorus replied, that in the emperor's letter, there was question only, of a difference between Eutyches and Flavian. The letter of Leo to Flavian was not suffered to be read, nor even admitted. (1)

Eutyches was absolved : his errors were subscribed : and Flavian, Eusebius, Ibas, and Theodoret condemned : anathema was pronounced against them by Dioscorus, and repeated by the bishops of his party. The other prelates protested against it : a voice exclaimed, "where are the Counts?" immediately, a crowd of armed men rushed into the assembly, threatening with deposition and banishment, all who should refuse to subscribe to the sentence. The schismatical monks, at the head of whom was Barsumas, still more sanguinary and ferocious than the soldiery, exclaimed, "whoever divides Christ into two natures, deserves to be cut in twain : burn Eusebius the false pastor, the wolf of Dorilœum." In the midst of this riot the doors were closed : some of the bish-

(1) Act. Conc. Chalced. 1 et 3.

ops, subdued by fear, signed the anathema. Flavian was deposed, and Anatolius chosen in his place: all who refused to subscribe the anathema were carried away by the soldiers, and sent into exile. (1)

Eusebius and Flavian were incarcerated: the latter, after being beaten and bruised, by the ferocious soldiery of Dioscorus and Barsumas, was driven into exile, where he soon terminated his heroic career. (2)

The Pope's Legates remained faithful to their trust: one of them, Hilarius the deacon, fled to Rome, and informed Leo of these scandalous proceedings. (3)

The Holy Pontiff took every means to check the spreading evil: wrote in the most animated tone, to all the churches: and consoled the persecuted bishops. (4) In a letter to the emperor, he complains that the christian faith had been sacrilegiously profaned at Ephesus: and conjured him to exercise his authority; and repair the enormous scandal, by revoking

(1) Evagr. lib. 1. cap. 10.

(2) Menolog: 18 Feb. Marcell. in Chron. hoc ann.

(3) Leo Ep. 26.

(4) Leo Ep. 25.

his edict confirmatory of the tumultuous synod. (1)

In the interim, Leo convoked at Rome a synod of the occidental bishops, in which was annulled all that had been done at Ephesus against Flavian, and the other holy prelates. At this juncture, Valentinian happened to be at Rome with Eudoxia his wife, and Placidia his mother : during the solemnities on Christmas-day, Leo, accompanied by a train of bishops, presented himself before him, and, with tears, conjured him to avert the tempest, gathering over the Church, by the imprudence of his brother : accordingly Valentinian wrote to Theodosius imploring him to support the dignity of S. Peter, and defend the supremacy of the Roman Church. Eudoxia, and Placidia, wrote also to the same effect. (2) Meantime the favourite Chrysaphius fell into disgrace ; was exiled, and afterwards condemned to death.

Although the emperor Theodosius suffered himself to be deceived by Eutyches, and Dioscorus, and ratified the condemnation of Fla-

(1) Vide Spond. ad ann. 449. XV. XVI.

(2) Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 49.

vian, still he never went so far as to condemn the authority of the Roman See : on the contrary, he would not consent to the election of Anatolius in the room of Flavian, without the approbation of the pope. (1)

But since not only the faith of Anatolius was to be examined, but a multitude of fallen bishops to be recalled to their duty, it was deemed expedient by Leo, according to an ancient custom, to send legates *a latere* to Constantinople : these were Abundius and Asterius, bishops, and Basil and Senator, priests. The mind of Theodosius was now changed : he listened once more to the advice of his august sister, and would have atoned for his late conduct, had he not been prematurely taken off : on returning from the chase, he fell from his horse, and was killed, in the forty ninth year of his age, anno 450.

On the death of her husband, the empress Eudocia quitted the court and returned to Jerusalem. (2) Pulcheria, being thus left sole mistress of the east, the empire, by her will, was conferred on Marcian a Thracian, who

(1) Leo Ep. 33. 35.

(2) Marcell. Chron. ann. 450.

rose from the lowest grade in the army, to the highest dignity in the world. Pulcheria took him for a husband, on condition that both should live in continency: and he was proclaimed emperor in August 450. "He was," says Spondanus, "a man mature in age, sound in faith, pure in morals, and brave in battle."

(1) Immediately upon his accession, he wrote to Leo the Roman Pontiff, informing him of his election, and his desire to repair the evils occasioned by the Eutychian heresy. (2) In the mean time, the legates, sent by the pope to Theodosius, arrived at Constantinople, and delivered the letters to Marcian: who wrote again to Leo on the subject of convening a general council. (3) He recalled from exile all the bishops who had been condemned by the conventicle of Ephesus: and translated, with great pomp, the body of S. Flavian to Constantinople. (4)

It became necessary to convoke the council with all possible solemnity, in order to remedy the scandal which the synod of Ephesus had so lately occasioned. "But the object of the

(1) Ad ann. 450. IV.

(2) Ext. ant. Conc. Chalc.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Vide Baron. ann. an. 450.

council is not," S. Leo writes in his letter to the emperor, "to investigate the subject of faith; it is merely to devise the most prudent means, by which to recall those who have strayed from the Church" (1) He however, represented the difficulties which would attend the convocation of a general council, at this period, when the West, more than ever, was exposed to the fury of the Huns, and other barbarian tribes. The emperor urged the necessity of an immediate council, as the only efficacious remedy to the calamities both of the Church and empire: conjured the pope to determine, without delay, the place and time of the council, and, if possible, to attend in person. Leo consented to the solicitations of the emperor: regretted that the confusion of the times would not allow him to leave Italy, but sent as his representatives Paschasius, bishop of Lilybœa in Sicily, and another bishop by name Lucentius, together with Boniface and Basil, cardinal priests of the Roman Church. To these were added Julianus, a Greek bishop. (2) Chalcedon was appointed for the celebra-

(1) Ep. 41.

(2) Pagi ad ann. 451. num. 3.

tion of the council : the church in which the bishops were to assemble was that of S. Euphemia, situated on a gentle declivity in the suburbs of the city, commanding, on one side, a view of an extensive plain ; on the other of an amphitheatre of sloping hills crowned with wood (1) The council opened on the 8th of October 451 : there were present six hundred bishops : (2) From Africa, notwithstanding the Vandalic persecution, there were two, Aurelius and Rusticus : from Sicily one, John of Messina : from among the Saracens two, Eustathius and John. Dioscorus and Juvenal of Jerusalem were present : as also Dominus of Antioch : and Anatolius of Constantinople, now reconciled to the Church. The assembly was graced by the persons of Marcian and Pulcheria, accompanied by several lords. In the middle, as usual, was exposed the Holy Bible : on the left of which sat the pontifical legates, the bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, &c. on the right Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the other bishops.

(1) Evagr. lib. 3. cap. 3.

(2) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 451. IX. X. XII.

The emperor and empress occupied a throne before the balustrade.

The first session was opened by the emperor, who said, that "the faith of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, was to be confirmed according to the doctrine of the council of Nice, and the letter of Leo to Flavian."

The Legates then said, "that they had received instructions from the pope of Rome, *the head of all other churches*, not to permit Dioscorus to assist at the council, for having presumed to convoke a synod without the consent of the Holy See." Wherefore, Dioscorus was removed from among the fathers, and placed in the middle of the church to be judged. (1) Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, was admitted into the council: the charges of Eusebius against Dioscorus, and the acts of the conventicle of Ephesus, and the synod of Constantinople against Eutyches, were read: and sentence of condemnation was pronounced against Dioscorus, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, and Basil of Selucia, who had presided at the assembly at Ephesus;

(1) Vid. Concil. Chal. act. 1. et Evagr. lib. 2. cap. 4

and all those who had been deposed by them were absolved : after which, the first session broke up. The second was held on the 10th of October. The letter of Leo to Flavian was read : the council exclaimed : “ We believe thus ; it is the doctrine of the fathers ; it is the faith of the Apostles ; *Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo !* ” The church rang with anathemas against Dioscorus : and the second session adjourned.

The third was held on the 13th, at which the emperor was not present, as the object was, to proceed to the condemnation of Dioscorus according to the ecclesiastical canons. The memorial of Eusebius was read, praying that the acts of Ephesus might be condemned, and Dioscorus deposed. To proceed in form, Dioscorus was summoned, but refused to obey : he was then condemned for blasphemy against the Trinity, homicide, immorality, tyranny, and temerity in excommunicating the Sovereign Pontiff. After which, he was again cited to answer in his defence, but refusing to appear, was deposed from the episcopal and sacerdotal dignity : to which sentence all the

bishops subscribed their names. The synod gave information of these proceedings to Valentinian, Marcian, and Pulcheria; from whom, an edict was obtained in condemnation of Dioscorus. (1)

The fourth session was held on the 17th of October: the commissaries of the emperor were present. Paschasinus declared, that the fathers of Chalcedon had religiously adhered to the definition of the three œcumenical councils of Nice, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, held under S. Cyril, and the letter of pope Leo. (2) This declaration was delivered in latin by the legate, and translated into Greek: the bishops exclaimed: that such was the faith which they had received at baptism, and which was unchangeable. The Imperial commissaries asked whether all the bishops admitted the pope's letter to be conformable to the doctrine of the councils of Nice, and Constantinople? Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus

(1) Conc. Chalced. act. 3. The sentence of this council was couched in these terms: "The Most Holy Bishop of Rome, Leo, through us, and through the present council, with the blessed Apostle Peter, the rock of the Church and Catholic Faith, has deposed Dioscorus from his episcopal, and sacerdotal dignity."

(2) Id. act. 4.

of Antioch, and a multitude of bishops exclaimed : " It is ! " They were joined by Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Basil of Seleucia, and Eustachius of Berytus, who had presided at the assembly of Dioscorus.

The fifth session was held on the 20th : in which nothing very important occurred.

In the sixth session, held on the 22d, a Confession of Faith was recited by Asclepiades, deacon of the church of Constantinople ; which, though not heretical or erroneous, was imperfect, and therefore exploded by the legates : of this, it was afterwards discovered, Anatolius was the author, who presumed to say, that Dioscorus had not been condemned on account of his faith, but for having excommunicated the Sovereign Pontiff. The legates declared, that unless all should subscribe to the epistle of Leo, they would retire, and convoke a council in the West. Wherefore, a definition of faith was drawn up, in which, the question concerning the Two Natures, and one Person, of Christ, was put at rest in these terms : " We declare, that there is but one and the same

Lord Jesus Christ, true God, and true Man : perfect in both natures : composed of a reasonable soul and body : *consubstantial* with the Father, according to his Divinity : and with us, according to his Humanity : and, sin excepted, similar to us in all things : born of the Father, before all ages : and in time, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, according to his humanity : one and the same Jesus Christ, in two natures, without change, division, separation : without any confusion in either nature, occasioned by the union : the properties of each subsisting and concurring to form only one person : so that he is not divided or separated into two persons, but is one, and the same Son, God, Word, our Lord Jesus Christ." (1)

Such was the confession of faith, which all were commanded to admit under pain of deposition, if clerks, and anathema if monks or laymen.

The seventh session was held on the festival of S. Euphemia : on account of the solemnity of the day, Marcian was present with Pulcheria and the usual train of officers : he address-

(1) Conc. Chalced. act. 6.

ed the council, first in latin and then in greek, on the solicitude which he felt for the true faith : it was followed by peals of acclamation : the profession of faith past in the last session was then read, and anathema repeated against Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus. (1)

The eighth session was held on the 21st: in this, Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, who had been deposed in the conventicle of Ephesus, was restored : Ibas of Edessa was likewise absolved, and restored : both anathematized Nestorius. (2)

The ninth session was held on the 22d : the cause of Domnus, who had been deposed by Dioscorus, was tried : a yearly pension from the ecclesiastical revenues was settled on him by the council : in the three following sessions, besides the restoration of several bishops deposed at Ephesus, there is nothing to interest the reader.

The thirteenth session was held on the 1st of November : the object of it was, to examine the claims of Anatolius, who, taking advantage of the present vacancy of the see of Alexandria,

(1) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 457. XXII. XXIII.

(2) Id. an. 457. XXVI.

clandestinely sought to elicit a decree, by which the privileges of that see might be transferred to that of Constantinople: and the latter might enjoy the first place after the Roman Church. All things seemed to favor his views: Dioscorus had been deposed: Maximus of Antioch did not stand secure on an eminence to which he had been raised, by the conventicle of Ephesus: and Juvenal of Jerusalem, had prevaricated: to many, the proposition of Anatolius seemed reasonable. The legates, however, reclaimed against it: and when the Supreme Pontiff was informed of the measure, he wrote a severe letter to Anatolius, reproving him for having acted contrary to the statute of the great council of Nice, respecting the order of the patriarchal sees. (1) He wrote also to Marcian and Pulcheria, complaining of the ambition of Anatolius, and declaring null and void, the decree of the council touching the primacy of the see of Constantinople. (2) Though prudent and pious, he could not allay the spirit of these stormy times: a tumult ensued: some adhered to him, others

(1) Leo Ep. 53.

(2) Ep. 54, 55.

cried out for Dioscorus. (1) Among the latter, were the monks, who, infected with his errors, stirred up the passions of the populace, and excited an almost general ferment: the ferocity of these men was not to be subdued: they rejected the council of Chalcedon, and separated themselves from the unity of the Catholic Church. From this period the schism of the Copts dates its origin. (2)

Much confusion was excited by a monk, in Palestine, by name Theodosius, an abandoned and flagitious character: by his intrigues, he caused Juvenal of Jerusalem to be banished, and himself to be substituted in his place: on his return from the council of Chalcedon, he published that the fathers had betrayed the faith, re-established the heresy of Nestorius, and admitted in Christ two distinct persons. The empress Eudoxia, who, on the death of her husband, had retired into these parts, declared in favor of Theodosius. (3) Under the

(1) Evagr. lib. 2.

(2) They were called sometimes *Egyptii*, sometimes *Schematici*, and *Menophysitæ*. Their demagogues were Theodosius an Alexandrian, and Jacobus a Syrian: from whom they also derived the names of *Theodosiani* and *Jacobitæ*. Evagr. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(3) Spond. ad ann. 452. ¶1.

supplies of so powerful an advocate, he carried devastation through the whole province, inflicting death, torture, or exile on all such as adhered to the council of Chalcedon. By his fanatical partisans he was made bishop of Jerusalem: during twenty months he tyrannized in Palestine: after which, being ordered to appear before the emperor, he fled to Mount Sinai. (1)

During these calamities of the East, the West was agitated by an invasion of the Huns: under the conduct of Aetius, surnamed "The Scourge of God," they inundated Gaul, and had they not been checked by Aetius, a Roman general at Orleans, would have ravaged the fairest provinces of the kingdom; and the whole Roman empire. (2) Attila, however, recovered from the shock, and recoiled on his conqueror: through Pannonia he returned to Italy, spread devastation over that classic soil, and contemplated the destruction of Rome. Attila had the noblest cities of Italy, Aquileia, Ravenna, and others, yielded to the barbarian.

Thousands as of boultts . dist . ent . ent . not .

(1) Niceph. lib. 15. cap. 9. Evag. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(2) Greg. Tur. hist. lib. 2. cap. 6. 7.

Rome could not resist his power: the emperor's spirit was broken: Aetius despaired: both were on the point of quitting the centre of the empire, when Leo, the Roman Pontiff, determined to face the enemy and save his country. At the head of a numerous retinue, he went forth, and met the barbarian, at the confluence of the Minus and the Po. At the sight of the magnanimous Leo, the ferocity of Attila was subdued: he looked upon Rome as an holy place: shrunk from his purpose: and retired beyond the Danube. (1)

The year 453, was saddened by the death of the empress Pulcheria, in the fifty fourth year of her age: the sanctity of her life, the nobility of her soul; her prudence, skill, and wisdom, entitle her to a place among the best, and greatest of women. When occupied with the sole administration of the empire, she governed with the masculine energies of a man; at the same time that she lived in her palace, as a humble virgin: she created, and endowed, several churches, and monasteries: suffered much for the true faith: attained to an eminent

(1) Brev. Rom. in fest. S. Leon. 11 April.

sanctity; and deserved to be recorded on the catalogue of the saints. (1)

The emperor Valentinian survived her but two years: he was slain by Maximus the Patrician, whose wife he had insulted. (2) Thus perished the last of the race of the great Theodosius: Maximus was immediately proclaimed emperor, and espoused Endoxia, the widow of Valentinian, who little thought that she was marrying the murderer of her husband: on discovering it she became frantic: and invoked the assistance of Genseric, king of the Vandals, against the usurper: the barbarian immediately transported an immense force into Italy, and marched to Rome. Maximus fled: was stoned to death, and his body cast into the Tiber. The "eternal city," was thrown into consternation, and looked for nothing short of utter destruction. The Holy Pontiff, who had softened the heart of Attila, did not hesitate to face the terrible Genseric, and thus rescue the city from ruin. (3) It was, however, ransacked and pillaged during fourteen days: and with the exception of three principal basilics,

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 453. III.

(2) Id. 453. I.

(3) Procop. lib. 1. cap. 5. Niceph. lib. 15.

stantine the Great, can be compared with Marcian. (1) On his demise, Leo a tribune, by birth a Thracian, was proclaimed emperor by the senate and army, and crowned by Anastas, bishop of Constantinople : (2) of his election, the pope was immediately informed : and wrote a letter of congratulation, exhorting him to defend the Catholic Faith, and the council of Chalcedon. (3) In the commencement of his reign, the city of Alexandria, and all the provinces of Egypt, were again thrown into confusion by the faction of Dioscorus : as soon as his partisans had learned the death of Marcian, under the conduct of a daring monk, by name Timothy Ælurus, they rushed into Alexandria, thrust their demagogue into the episcopal chair, and some days after, killed the holy bishop Proterius in the church, dragged his body through the streets, cut it into pieces, burnt the fragments, and threw the ashes to the winds. (4) Many of the faithful of all conditions were martyred with their holy bishop. Timothy erased from the dyptics, the name of

(1) Spond. ad ann. 457. I.

(2) Id. II.

(3) Id. III.

(4) Spond. ad ann. 457.

Proterius, and recorded his own after that of Dioscorus : he seized on the goods of the martyr ; squandered away those of the church, as a reward for the fanaticism of his partisans ; anathematized the council of Chalcedon, and all who adhered to it, especially the pope, and bishops of the principal sees ; drove from their churches the orthodox bishops, and substituted their followers in their places. (1)

Information was sent to the emperor Leo of these enormous scandals, which the Timotheans represented to be the necessary effects of their zeal for the holy church : they sent deputies to the emperor, and letters, in which not a word was mentioned about the death of Proterius : the councils of Nice, and Ephesus were admitted, that of Chalcedon rejected. (2) Leo was warned by Anatolius against the intrigues of these fanatics, and reminded of his promises to defend the faith of Chalcedon : still he listened to the emissaries of Timothy, who urged, that the cause of their master should be tried in a general council : and with a view of procuring a pacification, he wrote to

(1) Id. 457. IV. (2) Int. ep. vic. illust. pro Conc. Chalced.

the Roman Pontiff, exhorting him to come in person to Constantinople : to this Leo replied : “ that the disturbers of the peace of the church, should not be indulged in their pretended claims : the decrees of the preceding councils were sufficient ; and Timothy should be banished from Alexandria.” (1) The emperor consulted the most venerable solitaries of the East : such as S. Simon Stylites, S. James the Syrian, and S. Baradat : they unanimously replied, that, “ the Holy Ghost had spoken through the council of Chalcedon : since the Redeemer had promised, that where there are several assembled in his name, he should be in the midst of them.” This answer was signed by many bishops ; and confirmed by the letter of the Sovereign Pontiff, who spoke in the name of all the West.

The emperor was satisfied : thought no more of convening a new, but only of enforcing the decrees of the late, council : accordingly Timothy was condemned, and banished. (2) A new patriarch was immediately appointed, in the person of Timothy, surnamed Solofaci-

(1) Ep. 75.

(2) Liberat. cap. 15. et 16.

olus, a man pacific in his disposition, and catholic in his faith: according to the custom of his predecessors, he gave immediate information of his appointment, to the Roman Pontiff.

(1) About this time died "the wonder of the world," as he is called by Theodoret, the celebrated S. Simon Stylites. (2) For the particulars of the life of this extraordinary man, I refer the reader to the venerable Alban Butler. (3)

In the beginning of the year 461, S. Leo, after a pontificate of twenty one years, past from this terrestrial, to a better, world. His body was buried near S. Peter the Apostle: on account of his eminent virtue, learning, and pastoral solicitude, he has merited to be surnamed "The Great." Of this celebrated pope, there are extant, eighty six sermons on the principal feasts: and one hundred and forty one letters: his style is noble, and pure; his eloquence worthy the Augustan age, and full of pathos, and unction. In his ninety first letter, he says, "that as long as there is life, we should not prescribe limits to the Divine Mercy: but grant reconciliation to all who crave it,

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 460. I.

(2) Theod. de vit. P. P. cap. 16.

(3) Vol. IV. Dublin ed.

even on their death bed ; provided, their conversion be sincere : we should not despise the tears of the penitent, but believe that they are the tears of compunction." In his decretal addressed to the bishops of Campania, he reproves them for compelling private confessions to be renewed in public : he says, " it is sufficient, that men confess their sins first to God, and then to the priest, by a secret confession."

(1)

(1) It is remarkable, that a medal was struck by order of the Senate in honor of S. Leo, having on one side the image and name of S. Peter, and on the reverse this inscription : " D. N. LEONI PAPÆ." Spondan. pag. 492. IV.

CHAPTER IV.

EMPERORS.

LEO, CONTINUED.

AVITUS.

MAJORIAN.

SEVERUS.

ANTHEMIUS.

OLYBRIUS.

GLYCEBIUS.

ZENO.

J. NEPOS.

ORESTES.

AUGUSTULUS.

ANASTASIUS.

POPES.

S. HILARIUS.

S. SIMPLICIUS.

S. FELIX II.

S. GELASIUS II.

S. ANASTATIUS II.

*From the death of Pope Leo, anno 461, to the
conversion of the Frunks. Anno 496.*

ABOUT seven months after the demise of Leo, Hilarius a deacon, by birth a Sardinian, was chosen to succeed him : the fidelity with which he had discharged his trust as legate, during the conventicle of Ephesus, was a powerful recommendation to the Roman clergy and

people : his first care, after his elevation, was to issue an encyclic letter, confirming the œcumenical councils of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon ; and ratifying the condemnation of Eutyches, and Nestorius. (1)

In the year 465, forty eight bishops having come to Rome to celebrate the birth-day of Hilarius, a synod was formed in the basilic of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to consult on several questions, which had been proposed by the Spanish bishops of the province of Tarragona : the acts that are extant, treat principally of the ordination of clerkés, and the impropriety of bishops choosing their successors. (2)

After a pontificate of six years, Hilarius died on the 10th September 467, and was buried in the church of St Laurence, near the remains of S. Sixtus : (3) after a vacancy of only ten days, Simplicius, a native of Tivoli, was chosen to fill the chair.

The Roman empire was now dwindling away : after the sack of the city by Genseric, Avitus, prefect of the Prætorium, grasped the sceptre : but was overcome by Ricimer, the

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 461. V.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 467. II.

(2) Tom. 2. Concil.

Goth. Valerius Majorianus, with the consent of Leo, was created emperor of the West, and reigned four years : at the end of which, he was deprived of his dignity and his life, by Severus the consul, who immediately invaded the empire ; but was, three years later, poisoned by the hardy Ricimer. (1) In 467, Anthemius was proclaimed emperor, with the concurrence of Ricimer, upon whose nod depended the crown of the West ; (2) but was murdered soon after, by his pretended benefactor, whose daughter he had married. Olybrius, a noble senator, was next raised to the throne ; but died after a reign of only forty days. The sceptre was then seized by Glycerius, who wielded it but one year, and was then dethroned by Julius Nepos : who, in his turn, was displaced by Orestes, a Goth, who had been made master of the guards. Romulus, or Augustulus, the son of Orestes, was invested with the purple : but had not worn it a year, before the partisans of Julius Nepos, called to their alliance Odoacer, king of the Heruli ; who, with a host of barbarians, besieged, overcame, and slew,

(1) Ib. 464. III.

(2) Evagr. lib. 2. cap. 18.

Orestes : and exiled his son **Romulus**, to an island near **Naples**. The barbarian assumed the title of king of **Italy**, in the year 475. Thus did the **Roman empire**, which began with **Augustus**, end with **Augustulus**. (1)

On the demise of **Leo**, **Zeno**, his son-in-law, was created emperor : he took along with him to **Constantinople**, a monk by name **Peter**, styled from the art which he had formerly exercised, "the Fuller:" this man had been expelled from his monastery, in consequence of having embraced the **Eutychian errors**: but was afterwards made priest of the church of **Bassa** in **Chalcedon**. At **Antioch**, he associated himself with the **Apollinarists**, seduced many of the clergy and laity : and, supported by **Zeno**, drove **Martyrius**, bishop of that place, from his see, and daringly, thrust himself into it. **Leo**, informed of these proceedings, at the suggestion of **Gennadius** bishop of **Constantinople**, ordered "the Fuller" to be exiled. By a timely flight, he escaped the punishment. (2)

(1) Berti pag. 198, Tom. 1. Vide Baron. ad ann. 475.

(2) Theo. Lect. Collect. lib. 1. Liber. breviar. cap. 18. Monach. Serm. de S. Barn. ap. sur Tom. 3.

Notwithstanding the iniquity of the times, the Church did not fail to produce many holy, and illustrious men : such as Severinus an hermit on the banks of the Danube : and S. Mamertus bishop of Vienne : by the latter, the “ Rogation days ” were first introduced into Gaul. They derive their name from the latin word *Rogare*, which signifies to beseech. At a time when the city of Vienne was laid waste by earthquakes, fire and other calamities, to appease the wrath of God, the holy bishop proclaimed a fast for three days : during which, prayer should be offered, and the litany of the saints chanted : the earthquake ceased, the fire was extinguished, and the recurrence of these three days, was, ever afterwards, solemnized in the same manner. (1)

S. Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, proved himself, at this epoch, the worthy successor of S. Martin. S. Aprunculus flourished likewise at

(1) From Spondanus it appears, that the “ *Rogation Days* ” had been instituted before S. Mamertus : and that they were only revived by him after falling into disuetude : however this may be, it is certain, that at this period, not only the Gauls, but the whole Catholic Church adopted them, as appears by S. Avitus bishop of Vienne, in his homily on these days. Ext. To. 7. Bel. Sanct. Consult Baronius ad ann. 475.

this period at Langres : being driven from his see, he returned to Auvergne, and was chosen by S. Sidonius for his successor. S. Romanus, likewise, was distinguished for his virtues in the monastery of Ainai. Claudian, brother of S. Mamertus of Vienne, a great poet, orator, and theologian, is thought to have composed, about this time, the hymn "*Pange lingua.*"

The emperor Zeno was buried in debauch : enervated by his pleasures, he saw, but dared not oppose, the ravages of the barbarians : the East swarmed with Saracens, the West with Huns : who, rolling across the Danube, burst over the frontiers, and penetrated into the heart of the empire. Basiliscus, brother to Verina, the widow of Leo, roused by these calamities, marched to Constantinople ; and expelled Zeno, who fled with his wife Ariadne, into Isauria, his native country. Basiliscus, immediately caused himself to be proclaimed emperor : his reign was not less tyrannical than that of Zeno : he declared in favor of the Eutychians ; and recalled from exile Timothy Ælurus, the pseudo-patriarch of Alexandria ; that impostor, mounted upon an ass, made his

entrance into the city, amid the acclamations of a sacrilegious multitude : he recalled the heretical bishops who had been banished ; especially, Peter “ the Fuller : ” and induced the emperor to issue an encyclic against the council of Chalcedon. To this circular, Anastasius patriarch of Jerusalem, and upwards of five hundred bishops, subscribed. (1) Acacius of Constantinople was the only patriarch, who had the courage to refuse his signature : urged by the letters of the pope, he took the resolution to convoke at Constantinople, the most celebrated bishops ; and the monks of the desert : whom, he was aware, even his adversaries, could not but venerate. (2) Simplicius, dreading the consequences of so general a defection, exhorted by letter, Basiliscus, to follow the example of Marcian, and his immediate predecessor Leo. (3)

The exertions of the Pontiff, however, proved ineffectual : but what could not be accomplished by his authority, was effected by the sanctity of the celebrated Daniel Stylites. This

(1) Evagr. lib. 3. cap. 6.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 476. VI.

(3) Ep. ult. To. Conc.

extraordinary man had been regarded as a prodigy, during the reign of Leo: even the barbarians had conceived for him a reverential respect: in the present critical juncture, he was conjured by Acacius, and the bishops, to make his appearance in the city: he did so: foretold the impending fate of Basiliscus: wrought many miracles, and returned to his solitude. (1)

Zeno, who had hitherto remained concealed in Isauria, burst on a sudden from his torpor, and advanced with a powerful army against Basiliscus: the usurper fled to the church; asked public pardon for his crimes; annulled his circular address; and issued another, in which he admitted the Holy Catholic Faith: (2) and anathematized Nestorius, Eutyches, and all other heretics. By Zeno, he was banished, together with his wife and children, into Cappadocia; where they perished with hunger and cold.

Zeno abrogated the laws enacted during the tyrant's reign: built a superb basilic in honor

(1) Ap. Sur. 11 Dec. Theod. Lect. Collect. lib. 1. Niceph. lib. 16. cap. 6. Vid. act. Dan. Stylit. ap. Sur. 11 Dec.

(2) Evagr. lib. 3. cap. 8.

of S. Thecla; but did not reform his life. Timothy Ælurus, the pseudo-bishop of Alexandria, seeing himself deprived of all hope; put an end to his life by taking poison. (1) The Alexandrians appointed as his successor, Peter surnamed Mogus, in opposition to the lawful bishop Timothy Solofaciolus.

On the demise of Anastasius, patriarch of Jerusalem, which happened this year, 477, Martyrius, an hermit of Nitria, was appointed to succeed him: immediately on his succession, he deputed to Constantinople the deacon Fidus, to secure the protection of the emperor. He embarked at Joppa, but by a vision of S. Euthymius, was commanded to desist from his voyage: "the wandering sheep," he was told, "should soon return to the fold." It was not long, before the event verified the prediction: Marcian, one of the ringleaders of the schism, assembled his partisans in the monastery of Bethlehem, and addressed them on the necessity of embracing the truth: his discourse was applauded, and a reconciliation effected between the conflicting parties. But this was

(1) Liberat. cap. 16. Evagr. lib. 3. cap. II.

but a momentary truce : on the death of Timothy Solofaciolus ; John, surnamed Talaida, was chosen to succeed him : of his appointment the pope, and bishops of the principal sees, were immediately apprized : the letters directed to Acacius, were accidentally delayed : so that before their arrival, he had learned from public rumour, the unexpected elevation of John. Acacius regarded this apparent neglect as a marked insult : declared against him ; and in favor of Peter Mogus, whom he advised the emperor to restore. Zeno, accordingly wrote to the pope ; who replied, “ that he never should confirm the re-appointment of Mogus : ” and exhorted the emperor to banish him for ever. Zeno disregarded the pope’s answer : and, at the suggestion of Accacius, dared to sanction a decree, concerning faith, and to anathematize all the bishops who refused to admit it. (1)

This circumstance gave birth to his celebrated edict, which he styled *Henoticon*, or *Unitive* : which, however, instead of re-establishing harmony, served only to widen the fa-

(1) Simplic. ep. 17.

tal breach. (1) John Talaida was banished : and appealed first to Calendio, bishop of Alexandria, and then to the Roman Pontiff (2) In order the better to prosecute his appeal, he went in person to Rome : but on his arrival, Simplicius was no more : he had died a short time before, after a pontificate of sixteen years, and was buried in the basilic of S. Peter.

The pontifical throne remained but six days vacant : when Felix, the third of that name, a Roman priest, was chosen : his first care was to approve of the conduct of his predecessor ; and condemn the *Henoticon* of Zeno. (3) Having received the appeal of Talaida, he convened a council of bishops to the number of forty two : by whose unanimous advice, he deputed to Constantinople the legates, Vitalis, and Misenus bishops. (4) Through them, he sent to the emperor a most urgent, and persuasive letter : and another to Acacius of Constantinople, citing him to Rome. (5)

On the arrival of the Pope's Legates at Constantinople, they were immediately incarcerated

(1) Ext. ap. Evagr. lib. 3. cap. 14.

(2) Liberat. cap. 18,

(3) Theod. Lect. Collect. lib. 2. (4) Spond. ad ann. 483. III.

(5) Liberat. cap. 18. Fel. ep. 6. ad Ac.

ted ; and they were threatened with death, in case they should refuse to comply with the demands of the emperor : their spirit was subdued : they prevaricated : and not only communicated with Acacius, but heard, without contradiction, the name of the infamous Mogus, read from the sacred dyptichs : and thus, they were permitted to return to Rome.

All these circumstances being related to the Pope, by some holy monks from Constantinople, he convened a synod of bishops : deposed, and excommunicated the unfaithful legates. Acacius was tried, and found guilty : but before they proceeded to excommunicate him, they exhorted him by letter to return to his duty : (1) but so far from obeying the synod, in contempt of the Sovereign Pontiff, he confirmed Peter “ the Fuller ” in the see of Antioch : on hearing this, and seeing that there remained no hope of his doing penance, the synod excommunicated him : and the sentence was sent to Constantinople. Peter of Antioch, and Peter of Alexandria were condemned anew : and synodical letters were written to all

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 484 III. IV.

the bishops of the east, admonishing them to shun the communion of Acacius. By Liberatus, we are informed, that the contumacious prelate continued to officiate in defiance of his excommunication : (1) dared, to erase the name of the Sovereign Pontiff from the sacred register : and committed the greatest atrocities, especially against the monks, of whom some, were put to death. (2) John Talaida, the lawful Bishop of Alexandria, seeing no hope of returning to his see, was appointed by the Pope to that of Nola.

While the “ fold ” of the Church was thus ravaged in the East, by a “ wolf in sheep’s clothing,” in the West, the sword of Huneric was unsheathed against the faithful. That Vandal chieftain was an Arian : to afford some pretext for his cruelty, he invited all the bishops to meet, and discuss the subject of faith : the Arians, who were on the point of being confounded, gave out that the catholics were tumultuous, and unwilling to continue the disputation : on this ground Huneric immediately issued a decree, in virtue of which, the chur-

(1) Liberat. cap. 18.

(2) Mart. 8. Feb.

ches were closed : the catholics subjected to all the penalties enacted against heretics : and in case of compliance, ordered to be re-baptized. The bishops who had assembled for the disputation were proscribed, and banished. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, was sent into a desert, where he was ferociously treated by one Anthony, an Arian bishop of a neighbouring city : all the clergy of the Church of Carthage, were treated with similar cruelty : (1) of the faithful, many had their right hands amputated, and their tongues forced out of by the roots. (2) Such cruelties soon brought down on Huneric the vengeance of heaven : a famine prevailed over Africa, which was followed by a plague : the whole country was laid waste, and the tyrant himself was devoured by vermin. His death occurred in 484, after a reign of nearly eight years. (3) He was succeeded by his nephew Gundabund, who put an end to the persecution, and recalled the exiles from banishment. (4)

(1) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 484. V. VI.

(2) Id. Ibid.

(3) The particulars of his death are related by S. Gregory of Tours, hist. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(4) Spondan. ad ann. 484.

The persecutor of the eastern church, Acacius, survived the Vandal four years : he died as he lived ; having sat nearly nineteen years. (1) He was succeeded by Flavitas or Flavian : who, four months later, was carried off by a sudden death. (2) The chair was then filled by Euphemius, a presbyter of the church of Constantinople, who immediately approved of the council of Chalcedon, expunged the name of Mogus from the dyptichs, and restored that of Felix III : those of Acacius and Flavitas he left ; hence, though he was treated by the Pope as orthodox, he never was admitted to the episcopal communion. (3) Between him and Mogus, there existed a continual warfare : as he admitted, the latter rejected, the council of Chalcedon : mutual synods were held : mutual anathemas hurled against each other ; until the following year, when Mogus died.

The emperor Zeno, after a reign of seventeen years and five months, came to an end worthy of his impious life : by Evagrius, it is said, that he died of intoxication : (4) by Zo-

(1) Niceph. in chron.

(2) Vide Spondan. ad. ann. 488 II. III.

(3) Evagr. lib. 3. cap 23, (4) Lib. 3. cap. 29.

naras, that being taken for dead, he was buried alive: and lamentably shrieking from the tomb, was heard by his domestics: but being forbidden by his wife Ariadne, to open the monument, they left him to perish unassisted.

(1) The crown would naturally have devolved on his brother, Longinus: but the partiality of Ariadne, placed it on the temples of Anastasius *Silentarius*. (2) This unexpected measure created a suspicion, that in giving him the sceptre, she was only rewarding her lover. Euphemius, however, refused to crown him, unless he should make a written profession of faith: and approve of the council of Chalcedon. Anastasius accordingly assumed the mask of orthodoxy, and was inaugurated: his elevation was a source of joy to the Manicheans, and Arians: for his mother professed the principles of the former, his uncle of the latter. No sooner was he established on the throne than, according to the expression of Suidas, he changed the empire into an “aristo-

(1) Tom. 3. annal.

(2) This was the name given to those officers whose duty it was to preserve silence in the palace. Procop. de bel. Pers. lib. 2.

cracy," put up the offices to public sale, pardoned criminals, plundered provinces, and oppressed his subjects: in a word, that he had been raised to the Imperial dignity to desolate the empire and scourge the Church, will appear manifest from the event. (1)

In the beginning of the year 492, after a pontificate of about nine years, died pope Felix III.: he was buried in the basilic of S. Paul. (2) Five days after his demise, Gelasius, a most learned man, was raised to the papal throne: (3) as soon as Euphemius received the intelligence of his elevation, he sent to him a profession of faith perfectly consonant with the Catholic Doctrine, but since he had not expunged from the dyptichs the name of Acacius, Gelasius wrote to him not communicatorial, but commonitorial letters, assuring him that unless he should erase the name of Acacius, he hoped in vain for the pontifical communion.

In the meantime, Odoacer was slain at a banquet, by Theodoric king of the Goths, who

(1) Vide Baron. ad ann. 491.

(3) Anast. de Rom. Pont.

(2) Martyr. Rom. 25. Feb.

took possession of the imperial throne : though an Arian, Theodoric was not averse to the Catholics ; and by his generosity, tolerance, and prudence, he conciliated the minds of the Italian people. (1) To secure himself on the throne he sent ambassadors to the emperor Anastasius ; to one of these, Gelasius recommended the affair of Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople : accordingly on his arrival, Faustus, (this was the name of the ambassador,) exhorted the patriarch to obey the commands of the Holy See, and expunge the name of Acacius. Euphemius persisted in his obstinacy, defended the memory of Acacius, incurred the displeasure of both Arians and Catholics, was deposed, excommunicated, and exiled. Macedonian, a pious presbyter of the church of Constantinople, was appointed in his place. (2)

The bishops of Dardania, who had hitherto remained true to the Holy See, now, through the persuasions of the deposed patriarch, began to vacillate : to them Gelasius addressed a long and studied epistle, the contents of which he wished to be divulged through all the east. In

(1) Spondan. 493. II.

(2) Id. an. 495. II.

it, he refutes the objection of Euphemius, namely, that Acacius had not been condemned by any synod but merely by the Roman Pontiff, and that therefore his memory should not be in execration. He proves that it is the prerogative of the Holy See not only to absolve those who may have been condemned by a synod, but also to condemn the guilty without any synodical convention: he concludes by shewing that Euphemius was no more entitled to the primacy of the East, than the bishops of Ravenna, Milan, or Treves were to that of the West. (1)

This epistle was written in the beginning of the year 495; shortly after Gelasius convened at Rome a synod of fifty five bishops, in the case of the bishop of Misenum who had been deposed under Felix III., for communicating with Acacius, when legate at Constantinople: he now asked pardon for his prevarication, and, after due penance and anathematizing Acacius, he was absolved by the unanimous consent of the prelates. (2)

(1) Gelas. ep. 11.

(2) Tom. 2 Conc. et Tom. 1. Ep. Rom. Pontif. in Gel.

Gelasius sat nearly five years and was entombed in the basilick of S. Peter, Gennadius enumerating the writings of this Pope, says that "he composed against Eutyches and Nestorius a large and noble work," whence it has been inferred that he is the author of the book entitled "Of the two Natures against Eutyches and Nestorius. (1) On the demise of Gelasius the holy see remained vacant seven days; after which, Anastasius, the second of the name, by birth a Roman, was chosen to fill it. (2) Under this pontiff, the Faith was introduced among the Franks, who had been a colony of Germans, and had rendered themselves conspicuous by their martial achievements. Having crossed the Rhine they spread through Gaul, and established themselves into a nation. Their king, Clovis, with a view to give stability to the government and his house, married

(1) Of this book Gelaisus was not the author: he wrote but a small treatise on the subject: that in question is termed a *large volume, grande et præclarum volumen*. Gennad. de Script. Eccles. cap. 14. Of this *large* work, the author was another Gelasius, who, according to Photius (in Biblioth.) edited the acts of the first council of Nice. On this subject consult Spondanus, ad ann. 496. I. II. III.

(2) Anast. de Rom. Pontif.

Clotildis, a christian lady, the niece of Gundebald king of the Burgundians.

Clotildis had hardly become the wife of Clovis, than she addressed him on the subject of christianity : he listened with pleasure, and conceived a most exalted idea of the true religion : and though he did not embrace it immediately, permitted his first child, Ingomer, to be baptized. A few days after, the child expired : the hardy spirit of the king was roused, and he attributed this calamity to the vengeance of the gods of his fathers. Clodomir was also permitted to be baptized : he soon after sickened, but, by the prayers of his pious mother, recovered. (1) The greatest desire of the virtuous queen was, that her warlike husband should embrace christianity : she conjured him to forsake the worship of his idols, and adore the Living God. Before his expedition against the Germans, at this time a most ferocious and almost unconquerable nation, she repeated her anxious wish : “ If thou wilt secure the victory,” she said, “ invoke the God of the christians : he it is who holds the desti-

(1) Greg. Tur. de reb. Franc. lib. 2. cap. 28. 29. Aimoin. de gest. Franc. lib. 1. cap. 13.

nies of battles." (1) These words made a deep impression on Clovis : he marched against the enemy ; in the first engagement, his forces were almost cut to pieces ; when, prostrating himself on the field, he made a vow to become an adorer of the God of Clotildis, if he would grant him victory. - At that instant the enemy fled ; their king was left dead, and the Franks were triumphant on the plains of Tolbiac. Clovis immediately applied for instruction to Vedastus, a holy prelate, and was solemnly baptized by S. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, on Christmas Day, in the year 499. The language of that celebrated prelate, on the occasion, is sublime : " Bend thy neck," he said, " brave Sicambrian, to the yoke of the All-powerful God, and trample under thy feet the gods thou hast hitherto adored." (2)

The exclamation of Clovis, on hearing the circumstances of the Passion of Christ, is equally noble : " Ah !" he said, " had I been there with my bold Franks." (3)

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. 2. cap. 30.

(2) Albin. Flac. in vit. S. Vedast. Spond. ad ann. 499. IV.

(3) Hincm. in vit. S. Rem. ap. Duch. To. 1.

In the conversion of this prince, at this dark epoch, the reader must descry the manifest providence of God : for, besides him, there was not another sovereign in the world who professed the true faith. Anastasius, emperor of the East, was an Eutychean : the Gothic kings of Spain and Italy, the king of the Burgundians, the Vandal king of Africa, were Arians : and the king of the Anglo-Saxons was an idolater. Clovis, alone, was a member of the *True Church* ; and to him has been assigned the peculiar privilege of transmitting the pure faith to his distinguished posterity.

CHAPTER V.

EMPERORS.

ANASTASIUS, CONTINUED.

THEODORIC, KING.

JUSTIN.

POPES.

S. SYMMACHUS.

S. HORMISDUS.

S. JOHN.

S. FELIX III.

*From the conversion of the Franks, anno 499,
to the reign of Justinian. Anno 527.*

POPE Anastasius having died in the beginning of the year 498, was buried in the basilic of S. Peter, and succeeded by Symmachus, a native of Sardinia. In opposition to him, a certain Laurence, arch-priest of Rome, was declared pope, through the agency of Festus, a legate who had prevaricated in the East, and promised to persuade the Sovereign Pontiff to sign the Henoticon of Zeno. This schism continued three years: when the dispute was referred, by both parties, to Theodoric, then

at Ravenna. (1) The Arian king immediately convoked a synod of bishops, by whom it was decided, that the first chosen was entitled to the pontifical tiara. Accordingly, the election of Symmachus was recognized as legitimate. His first care was to take means to obviate, for the future, any similar misunderstanding in the choice of the popes : in a council held at Rome in 499, anathéma was pronounced against all who should, during the life-time of one pope, treat, without his consent, of the election of another ; or should intrigue for the papal throne : should it happen, that the choice of a pope could not be determined on, he who unites the votes of at least the majority of the clergy, shall be consecrated. (2) To the acts of this council seventy bishops, and sixty presbyters, (among whom was the arch-priest Laurence,) subscribed their names.

But Festus was not satisfied : in conjunction with Probinus a senator, he circulated against Symmachus, the grossest calumnies : Lau-

(1) Theod. Lect. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 16. cap. 56.

(2) Tom. 2. Conc.

rence was re-called to Rome, and a fresh rupture divided the clergy and the senate. Theodoric at first deputed to the capital Peter, a bishop, to take cognizance of the accusations against Symmachus : (1) but afterwards went in person to the city. (2) By his order, a synod was convened, consisting of an hundred and fifteen bishops, among whom the most eminent were Laurence of Milan, and Peter of Ravenna. The council assembled in the portico of S. Peter's, called *Palmaris* ; from which circumstance it is commonly styled *Concilium Palmare*. Symmachus was declared innocent : and Laurence, the anti-pope, condemned. (3)

In another synod held at Rome in 504, it was ordained, that all, unlawfully holding ecclesiastical property, moveable or immoveable, should, unless they restored it immediately, be anathematized : in which sentence were comprehended all those who had received such property under the appearance of the royal bounty. That Theodoric did not contemn, but actually obeyed, this decree, is manifest from a rescript

(1) Anast. in Symmach.

(2) Cassiod. in Chron.

(3) Ennod. lib. pro Sym.

Theod. Lect. lib. 2.

issued in defence of the possessions and immunities of the churches of Narbonne and Milan.

(1)

The innocence of Symmachus was now manifestly proved: the deacon Ennodius composed an apology in his defence; and a libel, circulated against him by the emperor Anastasius, elicited from the pope a reply in vindication of himself. (2) In this celebrated epistle, he gives the reason why he excommunicated the emperor, and refutes the calumny by which he was accused of the Manichean heresy. (3)

Anastasius was neither a Eutychean or a Manichean, but attached to a party which fluctuated between them both, and was known by the name of *Hesitaters*, or *Acephali*. (4) During his expedition against the Persians, the faithful were suffered to enjoy in peace, the

(1) Vid. Cassiod. 2. Var. 29. et lib. 4. ep. 17.

(2) Ext. Tom. 1. Bibl. Sanct.

(3) How groundless this calumny was, sufficiently appears from the book de Rom. Pontif., where it is related, that the pope banished several Manicheans from Rome, and burnt their books before the gates of the basilick of Constantine. Vid. Spondan. ad ann. 503. V.

(4) They neither admitted the council of Chalcedon, nor dared to hold the opinions which it condemned.

exercise of their religion : but when the warfare was suspended, he again began to persecute the Church ; and Macedonius, the orthodox bishop of Constantinople. (1) But as he could not be immediately driven from the city, an heretick, by name Acholius, was suborned to kill him : the attempt failing, the benevolent patriarch ordered a present to be made to the assassin. (2)

On the demise of Gundebald, the persecution in Africa was revived by his brother and successor Thrasamund. In order to check the evil, occasioned by the expulsion of the bishops from their sees, S. Fulgentius was sent from Sardinia, whither he had been banished from his church of Ruspina, to Carthage. To the questions of the king, he replied with acuteness and learning : confirmed the faith of the people, and converted numbers to the true Church ; and was finally sent back to Sardinia, where he founded a monastery, and wrote several epistles and treatises concerning religion. (3)

(1) Theod. Lect. collect. lib. 2.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 504. IV.

(2) Id. Ibid,

In Gaul, the Church enjoyed an universal tranquillity : by Alaric the faithful, and especially the bishops, were treated with singular clemency : and the Theodosian code, with the royal approbation, was abridged and published, in the year 506. (1) The same year, a council was celebrated at Agde ; at which assisted thirty five prelates : of whom the most distinguished was S. Cæsarius bishop of Arles, who presided. (2) It is remarkable, that the council opened with a solemn prayer for the Arian, Alaric. (3) As long as that prince permitted the Church to be in peace, his reign was fortunate : but no sooner did he condemn S. Cæsarius to exile, than he brought upon himself the loss of his kingdom and his life. A war, I know not through what cause, broke out between him and Clovis : (4) the French monarch, having founded at Paris, near the tomb of S. Genevieve, a magnificent church, at the

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 506. II. (2) Tom. 4. Concil.

(3) That the most holy bishops were accustomed to pray even for the pagan emperors, appears from Athenagoras, Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and others. Spond. 506. I.

(4) Spondanus says, that S. Gregory of Tours affirms the war to have been through mere zeal for religion in Clovis, who could not bear to see an Arian reigning in Gaul. Spond. 507. I.

head of a gallant army, marched to the plains of Vouille : there he was met by Alaric : a battle immediately ensued, and raged with alternations of success and defeat on both sides : at length the balance of victory was inclined on the side of the Franks, by a daring achievement of their brave monarch ; who, espying his rival in the crowd, cut his way through the thickest of the fight, and pierced the Arian to the heart : he fell, and the fate of the day was decided. Such was the end of Alaric, who had reigned, twenty one years, from the Rhone to the Pyrenees. Laden with spoils, and covered with laurels, Clovis marched to the tomb of S. Martin, near the city of Tours, and enriched the shrine with the munificence of a hero. (1) He soon after returned to Paris, where he fixed his permanent residence, and which he made the capital of his kingdom.

After the death of Alaric, Theodoric confederated with the Goths, and turned his arms against the Franks : over them he gained many advantages, and dared to lay seige to the strong city of Arles : during the calamities of

(1) Hincm. in vit. S. Remig.

these times, the zeal of S. Cæsarius shone conspicuous : to relieve the wants of the townsmen, he did not hesitate to melt down the sacred vessels, Being accused by the Jews and the enemies of the church, of treason, he was thrown into prison by the Gothic soldiers, and afterwards sent to Theodoric, then at Ravenna ; who, aware of his sanctity, treated him with marked respect, and set him at liberty. From Ravenna, he visited the tombs of the Apostles at Rome, and afterwards returned to Arles. (1)

In the year 514, after a pontificate of nearly nineteen years, died pope Symmachus, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter. To him the introduction into the mass of the *gloria in excelsis Deo*, is attributed. He was succeeded by Hormisdas, a deacon of the Roman Church, a native of Campania. As soon as it was known that a new pontiff was on the chair of S. Peter, Clovis, at the suggestion of S. Remigius, sent to him a crown studded with gems ; by which he appears to have surrendered his kingdom as a fief to the Roman

(1) Ap. Sur. 27. Aug.

Church. (1) Soon after this, that most christian king died, and was buried at Paris in the basilick of S. Peter, of which he himself had laid the foundations. He lived forty five, and reigned thirty, years. On account of his achievements in battle, he was designated by the epithet of the *Warlike*. (2)

In the room of Clovis, succeeded his four sons, Childebert, Clotaire, Theodoric, and Chlodomir : of whom, the first fixed his residence at Paris ; the second at Soissons ; the third at Rheims ; and the fourth at Arles. (3) They were all christians, and in communion with the church of Rome. (4)

In the East, the Eutychean and Nestorian heresies were still supported : at the request of the emperor Anastasius, Hormisdas sent to Constantinople the legates Ennodius, Fortunatus, Venantius, Vitalis, and Hilarus notary of the Roman Church. Through them, the pope conjured the emperor to condemn the errors of Eutyches and Nestorius ; to admit

(1) Hincm. in vit. S. Rem. ap. Sur. 13. Jan. Anast. in Horm.

(2) See Spondan. ad ann. 514. IV., and the encomiums which he lavishes on the piety and magnanimity of the Franks.

(3) Greg. Tur. 3 hist. Fr. 1.

(4) Vid. Spond. 514. VII.

the Chalcedonian synod, and the letter of S. Leo; and to expunge from the diptychs, the names of Dioscorus, Peter Mogus, Peter the Fuller, Acacius, and all other heretics.

On their arrival at Constantinople, they were honourably received by the emperor: who declared that he cheerfully acquiesced in the demand of the pope, except one chapter, viz: the erasing the name of Acacius, to which he was convinced the people would object. The legation proved useless: Anastasius, pretending that he expected Hormisdas in person, after detaining the legates a long time, suffered them to return, and deputed with them two distinguished laymen, Theopompus count of domestic affairs, and Severinus count of the sacred consistory: to them he gave a respectful letter for the pope, admitting the council of Chalcedon, but refusing to condemn Acacius, for fear of exciting a tumult. (1)

At Rome it was soon discovered, that the emperor's deputies were the defenders of the Eutychean heresy: they even attempted to shake the faith of the Sovereign Pontiff, and

(1) Ext. Tom. 1. ep. Rom. Pont. et To. 2. Conc. in Hormisd.

were ordered back to the East. The elevation of Dioscorus the younger to the see of Alexandria, (he was the cousin of Timothy Ælurus, and a heretic,) proved that the emperor was not disposed to forsake his errors. (1)

The year following, 517, Hormisdas sent a second deputation to Constantinople : this delicate honour was again conferred on Ennodius, and Peregrinus a bishop of Campania. Through these, he wrote to the emperor, to Timothy the heretical patriarch of Constantinople, (he had been appointed in the place of Macedonius, who was exiled into Paphlagonia) and to the other oriental prelates out of the catholic communion : his letters, however, it must be remarked, were not *communicatorial*, but *commonitorial*. (2) To the orthodox prelates, clergy, and monks, he also wrote to animate their zeal, and strengthen their faith.

Of this embassy the result is briefly described by Anastasius Bibliothecarius : the emperor refused to admit the letters of the pope : tried every means to debauch the fidelity of the

(1) Spond. ad ann. 516. IV.

(2) Ext. omnes. To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont. et To. 2. Conc. in Hormisd. ep. 11. et seq.

legates, and sent them back in a frail and dangerous vessel. (1)

Timothy of Constantinople did not long survive this act of treachery: he was carried off by a sudden death, after having sat six years. (2) He was succeeded, against the will of Anastasius, by John a Cappadocian, an orthodox prelate.

The year 518 was ushered in by the tragic death of the emperor himself: in consequence of a sedition excited among the people, by the approach of a formidable enemy, Anastasius appeared in the circus without the crown, declaring his intention to abdicate the throne, if it were pleasing to the people: by this artifice the public commiseration was awakened, and he was suffered to retain the sceptre. But his end was approaching: his sleep was disturbed by portentous dreams: a voice was heard to exclaim, *behold, on account of the perversity of thy faith, twelve years have been taken from thy life*: on the ninth day of June, there arose a terrible storm; the thunders crashed, and the lightnings gleamed, incessantly, over the

(1) Anast. in Hormisd.

(2) Niceph. in Chron.

imperial palace : struck with horror, he ran from room to room, and at length perished suddenly, after a reign of twenty seven years. (1) his death was revealed at the same time to Hias, bishop of Jerusalem, and Flavian of Antioch, then in exile : who, ten days later, were called to a better world.

Anastasius, therefore, being no more, Justin a Thracian, who arose from a common soldier to the first military honours, was elevated to the imperial throne. The martial exploits of this prince, had proved his valor, and the purity of his faith was intemperate. On the fourteenth day of July, which was Sunday, he went to the great church of Constantinople, together with John the patriarch ; where, amid the deafening acclamations of the people, the name of the council of Chalcedon, and the names of S. Leo, pope, and Euphemius and Macedonius were restored to the sacred diptychs : and Severus, the invader of the church of Antioch, was publicly condemned. (2)

To heal the wound which had been inflicted on religion, the patriarch John, four days after,

(1) Vid. Spond. ad ann. 518. I.

(2) Spond. ann. 518. V.

convened a synod of the bishops then at Constantinople, or in the vicinity, to the number of forty; by which the restoration of the names of the orthodox prelates to the diptychs, was unanimously approved: and this approbation was made known to the whole christian world, by letters public and private, to the different bishops. (1)

By an express edict of Justin, all who had been exiled in defence of the faith, were recalled, and restored to their former grades; the council of Chalcedon was confirmed, and all were commanded to admit it. (2) To the Roman Pontiff he wrote informing him of his elevation, and requesting him to send to Constantinople legates, who might restore peace to the Church, and recall those who had separated from her communion. (3) Accordingly, Hormisdas deputed Germanus bishop of Capua, who had filled the same office to the emperor Anastasius, John a bishop, Blandus a priest, and Felix and Dioscorus deacons: to these he gave in writing, the most explicit in-

(1) Ext. ap. Synod. Const. Sub. Mên. act. 1.

(2) Ap. Sur. 5. Dec.

(3) Ext. int. lit. Hormisd. To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont.

structions, and a letter for Justin, emperor, and Euphemia Augusta ; as also for John bishop of Constantinople, and the clergy of the same church. (1) They were met in Italy by an embassy from Constantinople, and escorted to the imperial city amid the plaudits of the inhabitants. The day after their arrival, in the presence of the senate, the emperor received, with great respect, the letters of the pope : to them John the patriarch subscribed : and the names of Acacius, and all the other schismatical prelates were erased from the diptychs. Thus was the union between the oriental and occidental churches auspiciously effected ; and celebrated with every demonstration of joy and exultation. (2)

An orthodox patriarch was now to be created for the see of Antioch : the Eutycheans resisted : but the emperor, by his authority, commanded Paul, an orthodox presbyter of the church of Constantinople, to be appointed : and he was ordained at Antioch, according to the

(1) Ext. int. ep. Horm. To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont.

(2) See Spond. *ad ann.* 519. II. III. IV. et seq.

ancient custom, and in conformity with the wish of Hormisdas. (1)

At Thessalonica, Dorothy the bishop, not only refused to subscribe to the letter of Hormisdas, but excited the people against the bearer of it, John : who was cruelly beaten and would have lost his life, had he not taken refuge in a church. Dorothy was summoned to Constantinople to be tried : but having bribed his judges, instead of being banished, as he should have been, into Oasis, he was sent to Heraclea for a few days, and then suffered to return to his church. (2)

The crown of Burgundy was at this epoch, on the brows of Sigismund, who abjured Arianism and embraced the true faith, at the persuasion of Avitus, a holy bishop of Vienna : (3) To purge his dominions of error, he convened at Epaune a synod of twenty four bishops, at which S. Avitus presided : by them forty canons were enacted for the restoration of the Catholic, and the extirpation of the Arian, doctrine.

(1) Vid. Spond. ad ann. 519. VI.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 520. IX.

(3) Greg. Tur. 3. hist. 5. Ado in Chron. 509.

In 517 a council was held in Gerundia in Spain, at which assisted seven bishops: by them ten canons were drawn up pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline: John, bishop of Tarragona, presided. (1)

Under the auspicious reign of Justin, the light of the gospel was carried to the most remote nations: in the year 522, the Iberians, a people inhabiting the country between the Caspian and Euxine Seas, were converted to christianity: their king, Zatus, went to Constantinople where he was baptized. (2)

The Arabs, called Homeritæ (a tribe which inhabited the tract of country which was anciently subject to the famous queen of Saba) were also converted: of these, the king was a Jew who had apostatized from the christian religion, by name Dunaan; an implacable enemy to the christians. In the year 522, he laid siege to, and made himself master of, the city of Nagrau, of which the population was christian, and conferred on thousands, priests, monks, virgins, and laymen, the crown of martyrdom. Arethas, the governor, was behead-

(1) Spon. 517. V

(2) Theoph. Miscell. lib. 15.

ed on the banks of a torrent. (1) Dunaan, however, did not escape the fate which he so richly deserved : he was attacked on sea by Elesbaan, a christian king of Æthiopia, was taken and put to death, together with all his principal officers : the crown of the Homeritæ was assumed by the conqueror : who afterwards abandoned the world and ended his days in solitude. (2)

The death of Thrasamund, king of the Vandals, which occurred in 522, restored peace to the church of Africa : on his demise the crown devolved on Hilderic, the son of Huneric : the exiled bishops were now recalled to their sees, and the churches of the Catholics opened. Of the exiles, the most illustrious was S. Fulgentius : as he approached the city of Ruspina, thousands went out to meet him with lighted torches, singing hymns and canticles. (3) After his return, he governed his church eight years : after which, impelled by a spirit of compunction, leaving all ecclesiastical occupations, he retired into an island, and de-

(1) Ext. act. ap. Sur. 24. Octob.

(2) Procop. de bell. Pers. lib. 1.

(7) Act. S. Fulg. ap. Sur. 1. Jan.

voted his time to prayer, fasting, and mortification. Worn out with suffering and infirmity he expired with these words in his mouth: "Lord grant me patience here, mercy hereafter." (1) Of his writings, Isidore regrets that many had perished. (2) Ferrandus a deacon of Carthage testifies, that he completed his treatise to Reginus touching the famous question, "whether the body of Christ was corruptible or incorruptible." (3)

In the beginning of the year 523 died S. Hormisdas, after a pontificate of nine years; and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter. The Holy See remained vacant seven days, when it was filled by John an Etrurian, presbyter of the title of Pammachius. (4) Two years after, the Roman Pontiff, according to the expression of S. Gregory the great, was seen in *New Rome*. Contrary to the custom of his predecessors, he was compelled by Theodoric to go in person to Constantinople, accompanied by Theodorus, Importunus, Agapetus, ex-consuls, and another Agapetus a pa-

(1) Domine da mihi modo patientiam, postea indulgentiam.

(2) Is. de Scrip. eccles. cap. 54.

(3) Spond. 529. VI.,

(4) Spond. ad ann. 523. I.

trician. On his arrival, the whole city went out to meet him with wax candles and crosses: the emperor prostrated himself at his feet, and desired to receive the crown from his hands. Justin refused him nothing: and Italy was thus liberated from the tyranny of Theodoric. (1) Under this pontiff flourished the celebrated Mary of Egypt; who, from a public sinner became a model of penance, and austerity: forsaking the world, she crossed the Jordan and concealed herself in a vast solitude, where she died. Of her acts, all the martyrologies, as well greek as latin, make mention. (2)

On his return to Italy the Sovereign Pontiff was cast into prison at Ravenna by Theodoric: in his solitude he died, on the 27th of May; his body was translated to Rome and buried, with great pomp, in the basilick of S. Peter. He sat two years and nine months. The Holy See having remained vacant fifty eight days, Felix, the fourth of that name, a Samnite, was chosen to occupy it. (3)

(1) Miscel. lib. 15.

(2) Spond. an. 525. IV.

(3) Id. 526. I.

The fury of Theodoric against the church was not appeased by the death of John : he invaded the rights and liberties of the Roman See, and arrogated to himself the appointment of the popes. (1) But this unprecedented temerity brought destruction on the tyrant : to his other crimes he added that of the murder of two of the most distinguished personages of the age ; namely, Severinus Boëtius and Symmachus : both of whom were ex-consuls and patricians, renowned for wisdom, moderation of mind, and other virtues, and versed in the human and sacred sciences. Of this, the works of Boëtius, and especially his golden treatise “ of the consolation of philosophy,” bear indisputable testimony. (2) Theodoric survived these martyrs but a few days : the head of a huge fish being served up for his dinner, he fancied that it was the head of the murdered Symmachus : he was seized with a tremor, fell into a mortal phrenzy, and expired in 526. (3)

(1) Cassiod. 8. ep. 15.

(2) The life of Boëtius was written by Julius Martianus : of Symmachus, Procopius speaks in the same tone of admiration, as of Boëtius. de bell. Goth. lib. 1.

(3) Vide Spond. ad ann. 526. VII. VIII.

As he died without male issue, his daughter Amalasuentha, assumed the agency for her son Athalaric, then but eight years-old. Of this princess, Procopius speaks in terms of praise for her own great qualities, and the care she took in the education of her son, notwithstanding the opposition of the Goths, who barbarously asserted, that letters and intellectual refinement rendered men timid and effeminate. Theodoric himself had not the least tincture of letters, nor would he suffer the Gothic children to be put under the care of teachers, saying: that "they who once trembled through fear of the ferula, would not know how to despise the sword."

CHAPTER VI.

EMPEROR.

JUSTINIAN.

POPES.

BONIFACE II.

JOHN II.

AGAPETUS.

SYLVERIUS.

VIGILIUS.

From the beginning of the reign of Justinian, anno 527, to the end of the fifth general council. Anno 553.

THE emperor Justin survived Theodoric only until the commencement of the following year, 527. Worn out with infirmities and years, he had already declared Cæsar his nephew Justinian : whom he afterwards created emperor, at the earnest request of the senate, and with the applause of the people. With his own hands he placed the crown on his temples, and immediately proclaimed Augusta his wife

Theodora. Four months after, Justin died, after a reign of nine years. (1) Justinian was now forty five years old; tall in stature, amiable in disposition, elegant in manners, and orthodox in principle. No sooner was he on the throne, than he issued an edict, in which he anathematized all heresies, especially those of Nestorius, Eutyches, and Apollinaris. (2) To sound faith he added extraordinary austerities, assiduous prayer, and a peculiar devotion to the holy martyrs. (3)

Though of a pacific temper, he did not, when the majesty of the empire was violated, shrink from the tumult and perils of war: to Calades king of the Persians, he sent an embassy demanding those rights to which he had a manifest claim. Calades refused: and a war was the consequence. At the head of the imperial army marched the celebrated Belisarius: who was accompanied by Procopius of Cæsarea, the historian, who committed to writing and to pos-

(1) Marcell. in Chron. Evagr. lib. 4. cap. 9. Zonar. annal. par. 3. Cedrenus adds, that as soon as Justinian was declared emperor, he distributed his property among the churches. In annal.

(2) Lib. 5. c. de Sum. Trini.

(3) Procop. de Œdific. Justin.

terity the particulars of this campaign. The war continued four years, when Calades the king dying, Justinian compounded with his son Cosrhoes.

In this war the emperor had confederated with the Eruli and Nabatoethi, who were converted to the faith. (1) At the same time Gordas, king of the Huns, near the Bosphorus, embraced christianity: as also the 'Tzani, a people inhabiting the sterile and frozen regions on the confines of Armenia; and the Absagi, who cultivated the rugged soil of Mount Caucasus. (2)

At this epoch flourished the celebrated Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus: he was by birth a Scythian, by profession a monk; and eminently versed in the languages and the holy scriptures: his praises are celebrated by Cassiodorus, his equal and fellow student. (3) To him we are indebted for the mode of computing the years, not by Olympiads, or Consuls, or Indictions, but from the Incarnation of Christ; "that the beginning of our hope," says venera-

(1) Evagr. lib. 4. cap. 19. Niceph. lib. 17. cap. 13.

(2) Miscell. lib. 16. Procop. de bell. Pers. lib. 1.

(3) Cassiod. de divin. lection. cap. 21.

ble Bede, "and the cause of our redemption, might shine forth with greater lustre." (1)

In the year 529 was celebrated the council of Orange : of this, the cause was a book written by S. Cæsarius, and sent to pope Felix, on the subject of Grace and Free-Will. To extirpate from Gaul the remnants of semi-pelagianism, the council issued twenty five canons, taken from the definitions of the ancient fathers, and conformable to the doctrine of S. Augustine, whose opinion on this abstruse subject, has been adopted by the Holy See. (2) Another council was held soon after, at Carpentras, at which were present the bishops who had subscribed to the former. Among the acts of this synod is to be found a decree concerning the donations made to parochial churches, and what, and how much, the bishops may claim for themselves. There is extant a synodical letter to Agreecius, a bishop, who was suspended from the celebration of masses, for having made an irregular ordination. (3)

(1) Bed. de rat. temp. cap. 45. Vid. Spond. ad ann. 527. VIII.

(2) Tom. 4. Conc.

(3) Spond. ad ann. 529. IV. Sur. 5. Octob. Greg. dial. lib. 2.

A third council was held at Vaison, in the same province, at which S. Cæsarius presided, and at which were present many of the bishops who had assisted at the two former. At this period, the great S. Benedict laid the foundation of his illustrious order: Mount Cassino, in the kingdom of Naples, was chosen as the birth-place of that venerable institution, which has since adorned the Church with the virtues, and proved an incalculable blessing to mankind at large, by the learning, and industry, of its children.

In this same year Justinian caused to be made a code, taken from the three ancient codes of Gregory, Hermogenes, and Theodosius: to this he affixed his name, and from him it is called *Justinianeus*. (1)

In the beginning of the year 530, died Felix IV., after having sat four years, and was interred in the basilick of S. Peter. After a vacancy of only three days, Boniface, the second of the name, a Roman by birth, a Goth by descent, was chosen to occupy it. In opposition to him a deacon, by name Dioseorus, was sup-

(1) Cons. de Nov. Cod. faciend.

ported in the basilick of Constantine : but fortunately for the peace of the Church, his schism was, a few weeks later, buried with him in the same grave. Dioscorus had been guilty of simony, for which reason his memory was anathematized by Boniface. (1) This pontiff sat but one year : before his death he convened a synod in the basilick of S. Peter, and nominated for his successor Vigilius, a deacon, who ambitiously aspired to the pontifical throne. The reader saw above, that the Gothic kings of Italy arrogated to themselves the right of electing the Sovereign Pontiffs : under the pretext of recovering the liberty of the Roman Church, Boniface attempted, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, to appoint his successor. That this measure was, however, opposed to the canons, appears from the subsequent conduct of Boniface, who annulled it himself, and from the example of all succeeding popes. He expired on the seventeenth of October, was buried in the basilick of S. Peter, and succeeded by John II., presbyter, of the title of S. Clement, anno 531.

(1) Tom. 2. Conc.

In the same year, was celebrated in Spain the second council of Toledo, under Montanus the archbishop of that city. (1) There were, besides, seven bishops, distinguished for their virtue and erudition: in this synod five canons were issued touching ecclesiastical discipline, and the reformation of manners. (2)

Justinian, having proved successful in his war with the Persians, now turned his arms against the Vandals in Africa. (3) In the year 533, the imperial fleet of five hundred sail, commanded by the brave Belisarius, steered for Africa, and the forces landed at Carthage, on the 13th of December. Gilimer, the king, was seized with a panic: in the paroxysm of despair, he put to death Hilderic, whom he had before deposed and incarcerated: the Vandals, headed by Gilimer's brother, were routed: Gilimer fled with precipitation, and left the city open to the enemy. Belisarius rushed through the gates, and was received with acclamations by the inhabitants. (4) Gilimer took refuge among the Moors, but at length,

(1) Idelfon. de vir. ill. (2) Spond. ad ann. 531. II.

(3) Procop. de bell. Vandal. lib. 1.

(4) Procop. de bell. Vandal. lib. 1. et 2.

compelled by dire necessity, submitted to the yoke of his conqueror.

Belisarius, having secured his conquests, returned to Constantinople with the king his prisoner : he entered the city in triumph, exhibiting the spoils and trophies, and followed by Gilimer and some of the most distinguished Vandals. Justinian was seated on his throne in the place called the Hippodromon : Gilimer being arraigned before him, cast his eyes around on the pageant, and reflecting upon his own condition, exclaimed : *vanity of vanities and all is vanity !* (1) The emperor gave him and his relations certain possessions in Galatia, and munificently provided for the children of Hilderic, whom Gilimer had murdered. Upon Belisarius he heaped new honours : and the year after created him consul.

In Africa he established the Roman administration ; and divided the whole into seven provinces, each subject to a governor. He issued several *sanctions* touching the ecclesiastical concerns of Africa, and restored to the churches what they had lost under the Van-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 534. IV.

dals. (1) The Moors, who were subject to the Roman power, he converted to the christian faith: the others, who continued barbarians, he drove into the interior of Africa.

Athalaric, king of the Goths in Italy, a youth of depraved morals, died after a reign of eight years: and was succeeded by Theodatus, the nephew of Theodoric; a man mature in age, and skilled in the Latin tongue, and Platonic philosophy, but unwarlike and avaricious. By him Amalasuntha, at whose suggestion he had been raised to the throne, was loaded with chains, and immured in prison, in the island of the lake Vulsinus, where she was finally put to death. (2)

In order to remedy the abuses which had crept into the African church, a council was held at Carthage, in 535, under Reparatus the archbishop of that city. (3) The bishops met to the number of two hundred and seventeen: and deputed to pope John, Cains and Peter bishops, and Liberatus deacon of the church of Carthage, to advise with him on the manner in which the Arians might be received back to

(1) Lib. 1. de commend. cod. Novel. 36. et 37.

(2) Procop. de bell. Goth. lib. 1.

(3) Tom. 2. Concil.

the true faith. On arriving at Rome, the deputies found that John was dead : to his successor, Agapetus, however, they delivered the letters of the council : Agapetus replied, " that the Arian prelates should not be received into the Church with the honours of bishops, but should be charitably provided for." (1)

Justinian being informed of the creation of the new pope, addressed him a congratulatory letter, and a confession of faith. (2) The emperor, however, was of opinion, that the Arian bishops should be permitted to retain the dignities which they possessed before their return to the Church, and be promoted to others : to which Agapetus replied, that he approved of the confession of faith, and applauded his zeal ; but shewed by many testimonies from the holy fathers, that " fallen bishops should not be received with honours, and that to the truly penitent, honours are of no consideration."

Having freed the kingdom of Africa from the Vandals, Justinian resolved to try his fortune against the Goths. Nor was he less prosperous : Mundus, prefect of Illyricum, seized

(1) Agap. ep. 1. et 2. To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont.

(2) Ext. in ep. Agap. To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont.

on the city of Salona : Belisarius recovered all Sicily, and entered Syracuse, in 535, amid the plaudits of the people. (1) Before invading Italy, however, Justinian confederated with the Franks. Theodatus seeing the tempest gathering over his head, threatened to lay waste the whole country, unless a peace should be concluded with the emperor. (2) To prevent the effects of his fury, Agapetus was obliged to go in person to Constantinople : though treated by Justinian with the utmost veneration, he did not succeed in his mission : Theodatus, in consequence of some advantages gained over the Romans, retracted his former proposals of peace, and hostilities were still continued.

With Anthimius, the heretical bishop of Constantinople, the pope refused to hold communion, except on condition that he should give a written testimony of the orthodoxy of his faith, and return to his own see of Trazibunda : every artifice was exhausted to induce the pontiiff to relent : Justinian interceded for the bishop ; Theodora was his warmest friend :

(1) Procop. de bell. Goth. lib. 1. (2) Liberat. Breviar. c. 21.

Agapetus, however, insisted upon his admitting the two natures in Christ: Anthimius refused: wherefore Justinian, having detected the fraud of the intruder, "submitted himself," says Anastasius, "to the apostolic see, and revered the most blessed pope Agapetus."

(1) Anthimius was deposed, and Mennas, an Alexandrian by birth, director of the great hospital of Sampson, and conspicuous for his sound faith and virtues, was chosen in his room. (2) The deposed patriarch was treated with commiseration: his former see of Trazabunda was to be returned to him as soon as he should prove himself sincerely penitent. Severus, the ringleader of the Acephali; Peter, formerly bishop of Apamea; and Zoaras, a Syrian monk, were excommunicated.

Agapetus, having thus arranged the affairs of the Church, was meditating his return to Italy, when he fell sick and expired. (3) His body was enclosed in a leaden coffin, translated to Rome, and buried in the basilick of S. Peter. He had occupied the pontifical chair only ele-

(1) Humiliavit se Sedi Apostolicæ et adoravit beatissimum Papam Agapetum. Spond. ad ann. 536. V.

(2) Miscell. lib. 16.

(3) Liberat. Breviar. cap. 22.

ven months, during which brief period, he rendered incalculable services to religion, and won the veneration of both the Oriental and Western churches. (1)

That the proceedings of the Holy Pontiff might be solemnly approved and enforced, the legates convoked a synod of the neighbouring bishops at Constantinople, to the number of fifty : at which they presided with Mennas. Of this synod the acts are extant : (2) from which we learn that Anthimius was canonically summoned, but proving contumacious, was excommunicated and deprived of the sacerdotal dignity. The sentence of Agapetus against Severus, Peter, and Zoaras was also confirmed. (3)

As soon as the death of Agapetus was known at Rome, the clergy assembled to appoint his successor. The majority nominated Silverius a deacon : who was accordingly, not however without opposition, installed, about two months after the decease of Agapetus. The empress

(1) Vide Spond. ad ann. 536. VIII. IX.

(2) Tom. 2. Concil.

(3) The acts of this council were approved by another, held immediately after at Jerusalem, under Peter bishop of that city. Spond. 536. XI.

Theodora declared in favour of Vigilius, a deacon of the Roman Church, who promised, in the event of his election, to reject the council of Chalcedon, and restore Anthimius and Severus. The empress wrote to Belisarius, then at Ravenna, to have him consecrated : but on his arrival at Rome, Silverius was seated on the pontifical throne.

About this juncture, was celebrated in Gaul the second council of Orleans, at which there assisted either in person, or through their proxies, bishops to the number of thirty, of whom many were renowned for their sanctity. Honoratus, bishop of Bourges, presided. By them, one and twenty canons were issued relative to ecclesiastical discipline. (1)

Belisarius was now in the meridian of his glory : he had made himself master of Sicily and Abruzzo, and in the beginning of the year 537, invested the strong city of Naples ; which, after a stubborn siege of twenty days, opened its gates to the conqueror. By Procopius it is said that he treated the inhabitants most humanely : (2) by Anastasius, that

(1) Spond. ad ann. 536. XIV.

(2) Procop. de bell. Goth. lib. 1.

he put all to the sword, and spared neither virgins, nor priests, nor churches. (1)

The Goths were thrown into consternation, created king, Vitiges, a chieftain of Dalmatia, a brave and warlike man, and slew Theodatus, after a reign of three years. Vitiges, however, was forced to yield to Belisarius, flee from Rome, and take refuge at Ravenna. Belisarius entered the city, and Rome was once more restored to the dominion of the emperors in 537, sixty years after it had been captured by the Eruli, and forty three after it had been seized by the Goths. (2)

A suspicion had been conceived, that Silverius was a friend to the Goths: Belisarius affected to believe the calumny, banished him into Greece, and declared Vigilius his successor. That this step was taken in pursuance of the orders of Theodora, there can be no doubt. For his services Belisarius received from Theodora seven hundred, from Vigilius two hundred, pieces of gold. (3)

(1) Anast. in Silver.

(2) Evagr. lib. 4. cap. 18. Theoph. Miscel. lib. 16.

(3) These particulars are related, partly by Anastasius, and partly by Liberatus. See Spond. 538. II. III.

All this was done without the knowledge of Justinian: as soon as it reached his ears, he ordered Silverius to be recalled to Rome, and juridically tried: should he be found guilty he might live as a bishop in another city; if not, he should immediately be restored to his see.

Vigilius, alarmed at this command of the emperor, conjured Belisarius to surrender Silverius into his hands: which being done, the holy pope was banished to the isle of Palmaria, and the usurper assumed the ensigns of the pontifical dignity. From this period, 538, to the year 540, when Silverius died in exile, Vigilius was no better than an anti-pope. To conciliate all parties, he wrote to Theodosius of Alexandria, and the deposed bishops of Constantinople and Antioch, rejecting the council of Chalcedon: to the emperor, on the other hand, he sent an explicit profession of the orthodox faith, admitting the council, and the letter of S. Leo, and anathematizing whoever professed a contrary belief, especially Severus, Peter of Apamea, Anthimius, and Theodosius of Alexandria. (1)

(1) Vigil. ep. 4.

Meanwhile Silverius, in a convention of four bishops, pronounced sentence of anathema against the schismatical invader: (1) in this the bishops of the whole catholic world acquiesced, and communicated with their chief and lawful pastor "in chains." Of the letters written to him by the various bishops, that of Amator, a Gallie bishop, is the only one extant. (2) Heaven seemed to avenge the cause of the persecuted pontiff: the East was visited with calamities: vast armies of Huns, crossing the Istrus, swept over the country, and penetrated to the suburbs of Constantinople, carrying off immense spoils, and an hundred and twenty thousand captives: (3) and forced the emperor to pay a yearly tribute. The same year, (539) Cosrhoes, king of the Persians, at the solicitation of Vitiges, resolved to break their treaty with the Romans: add to this, a universal famine which depopulated Italy, and afforded a spectacle of horror and inhumanity. The city of Milan was taken, three

(1) Ext. To. 2. Conc. et To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont. in Silver.

(2) Ext. cod. To. 1. ep.

(3) Procop. de bell. Pers. lib. 2.

thousand men were put to the sword, and the women carried into captivity. (1)

In the midst of these calamities, S. Silverius, wasted with miseries and consumed with want, died in Palmaria, in July 540, after a pontificate of four years: he is honoured by the Church as a martyr. On receiving the intelligence of his demise, Vigilius, aware that he was himself but an usurper, consented that the usual formalities in electing his successor should be observed. To prevent a schism which otherwise would certainly have sorely harassed the Church, the clergy unanimously raised Vigilius to the papal chair. Justinian, informed of this canonical appointment, despatched to Rome Flavius Dominicus, a patrician and ex-consul, with letters containing a profession of the catholic faith. Vigilius was changed into a new man: promised to defend the orthodox faith, and to follow the example of his predecessor in the case of Anthimus; and excommunicated that prelate, together with all heretics and schismatics. (2)

(1) Spond. 539. II.

(2) Vigil. ep. 2 et 3. To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont.

About this time was celebrated the third council of Orleans, at which were present bishops to the number of twenty five, under Lupus, archbishop of Lyons. By them thirty two canons were drawn up, of which there is one forbidding the Jews to intermix with the Christians, from holy Thursday until Easter Monday : (1) and another forbidding any clerk, without the permission of his superior, to arraign a layman, or any layman a clerk, before a secular tribunal. (2)

The glory of Belisarius now began to wane : being suspected of aspiring to the throne of the West, he was, in 451, recalled to Constantinople : whither he took along with him, Vitiges, king of the Goths and his wife ; as also the children of Theodebald and many other distinguished captives, together with an immense sum of money. (3) To Theodebald succeeded Araric : who, being soon after killed, was replaced by Totilas, the scourge of the Romans. (4) To check the ravages of this formidable barbarian, Belisarius was again sent

(1) Conc. Aurel. III. c. 29.

(2) Id. c. 31.

(3) Procop. de bell. Goth. lib. 2.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

into Italy. In 554, Totilas marched for Rome : and taking Tivoli, put all its inhabitants and its bishop to the sword. (1) A little later, the reader will see that mighty Goth in the walls of Rome.

The errors of Origen were still scattered over the East : on the return to Constantinople of Pelagius, deacon of the Roman Church, there accompanied him some monks from Palestine, demanding the condemnation of the errors and person of Origen. Wherefore, a synod was convoked, of both Eastern and Western bishops ; the former under Mennas, the latter under Pelagius : and sentence of condemnation was pronounced against those errors. (2) To the defenders of Origenism, this sentence proved a subject of irritation : Theodore, bishop of Cæsarea, caused a similar sentence to be pronounced against Theodore of Mopsuesta, who had written much against Origen : and through the empress suggested to Justinian, that the Acephali were willing to admit the council of Chalcedon, provided he should promulge the sentence of condemnation against Theodore of

(1) Miscel. lib. 16.

(2) Baron. an. To II. V. VII.

Mopsuesta; against the epistle of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, and the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against Cyril of Alexandria. This is what is meant by the *three Chapters*: from the condemnation of which by the emperor, proceeded incalculable evils, and a long and calamitous schism. (1)

Against that condemnation many orthodox Bishops, and Vigilius himself declared: not indeed in defence of the errors which were said to be contained in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuesta, in the epistle of Ibas, or the work of Theodoret against S. Cyril; but in vindication of their persons, contending that they should not be condemned: not Theodore, who it was certain had died in the catholic communion; nor Ibas or Theodoret, who had abjured their errors and been received by the council of Chalcedon. Hence, S. Gregory the great has shewn, that the question was concerning their *persons*, not their *faith*. (2)

To the *constitutions* of the emperor, Mennas of Constantinople, Zoilus of Alexandria, Ephrem of Antioch, Peter of Jerusalem, and many

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 538. VI. VII.

(2) Greg. ep. 337.

other oriental bishops, induced by flattery, or compelled by menaces, subscribed their names: but afterwards, they consulted the pope, protesting that they would retract their signatures, should they not meet his approbation. (1)

The emperor, seeing that the proceedings of the first oriental prelates were submitted to the judgment of the Supreme Pastor, conjured Vigilius to repair, with all possible speed, to Constantinople. Vigilius immediately set out: in Sicily he was met by Dacius, bishop of Milan, lately from the East, and by a legate from Zoilus, bishop of Alexandria. In the spring of the year 547, he sailed for Constantinople, where he was received by the emperor and people singing psalms. (2) Finding, that the subject of the "Three Chapters" had caused a dissension among the bishops, he assembled them together to the number of thirty, and ordered each one to give his opinion in writing. On this occasion it was, that Facundus, a learned African bishop, sketched the outlines of a celebrated work, which he afterwards address-

(1) Facund. lib. 2 et 4.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 547. III.

ed to Justinian, in twelve books in defence of the "Three Chapters." (1)

Vigilius, perceiving that the opinions of either party did not affect the council of Chalcedon or the catholic faith, since all in reality, concurred in condemning the errors of Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret: but dreading the effects which would flow from a separation from the emperor by a schism, secretly wrote a treatise in favour of the edict: this, without his knowledge, was published by Rusticus and Sebastianus, deacons of the Roman Church: a tumult ensued among the African bishops; and, reduced to the alternative of adhering to either a few of the occidental, or to all of the oriental, bishops, he deemed it more wise to declare in favour of the latter. (2) Among the former the elements of confusion were excited: and in order to avert the consequences, it became necessary to suspend the sentence issued in favour of the "Chapters": and, in concert with the emperor, Mennas, Dacius, and many other bishops, as well Greek as Latin, he published a second decree, commanding the con-

(1) Spond. ad ann. 547. III.

(2) Vigil. ep. 5.

troversy to be entirely hushed, until the next general council. (1)

Rusticus and Sebastianus, seeing that Vigilius did not condemn, as they had desired, the defenders of the " Chapters," impelled by the Africans, wrote to several bishops, letters against him, treating him as a prevaricator, and an enemy to the council of Chalcedon : their example was followed by many others. In a letter to Valentinian, a Scythian bishop, Vigilius complains, that he had been represented as hostile to the council of Chalcedon : (2) on which account many had separated from his communion ; but the more prudent wrote to him, requesting to know from himself, his sentiments on the subject.

In order to obviate the scandal which must necessarily have been created by the rumors against the Sovereign Pontiff, Vigilius convoked the bishops of Italy, then at Constantinople, and pronounced sentence of condemnation and deposition against Rusticus and Sebastianus. (3) But to extinguish the rising schism,

(1) Vide Spond. ad ann. 547. IV. V.

(2) Vigil. ep. 6.

(3) Id. ep. 5.

and remedy the spreading evil, a general council was necessary.

At the instigation of Theodore of Cæsarea, the ringleaders of the present schism, the emperor was induced, in violation of the pact to suspend all controversy till the next œcumenical council, to append in public, an edict against the " Chapters." Zoilus, for refusing his assent, was deposed, and Appollinaris chosen in his place. Vigilius urged him to revoke the edict : but was answered with threats. For greater security he left his house and fled to the church of S Peter ; where, collecting thirteen occidental bishops, he excommunicated and deposed Theodore of Cæsarea, and suspended from communion Mennas of Constantinople, and the other bishops adhering to the emperor. (1)

To the pope the church of S. Peter did not afford a safe asylum : he therefore sought another in the basilick of Euphemia at Chalcedon. Before his flight, he had been cruelly treated : by an unknown hand he was struck on the cheek : a voice exclaimed that he was an homi-

(1) Ext. To. 1. ep. Rom. Pont. et To. 2 Concil. in Vigil.

cide, the murderer of pope Silverius. Justinian, informed of his departure, experienced a sentiment of remorse, and sent an embassy, through which he promised on oath to provide for him a place of security at Constantinople.

(1) Vigilius refused to leave S. Euphemia, until the emperor should recall his edict : but wrote to the universal Church an “evangelical” letter, containing a statement of the facts which had occurred. (2)

Justinian, in effect, revoked the edict, and resolved never again to interfere in the question before the convocation of a general council. Even Theodore of Cæsarea became penitent for his conduct, and addressed to Vigilius a paper, professing the orthodox faith, and craving pardon. His example was followed by Mennas, and the oriental bishops : they were all re-admitted by Vigilius to communion, in 552.

(3) Mennas, after having sat sixteen years, died a short time after, and was succeeded, in the beginning of the ensuing year, by Eutychius, a monk distinguished for learning and sanc-

(1) Among the ambassadors I find the name of Belisarius : in all they were six.

(2) Vigil. ep. 7.

(3) Spond. ad ann. 552 IV

tity. (1) Immediately on his accession, he made a solemn profession of faith, according to the custom of his predecessors, and was received into communion. (2)

The convocation of a general synod now occupied the minds of the pope and emperor: as the christian world was divided, not only on account of the "Chapters," but also of the condemnation of the person, with the errors, of Origen. (3) The object of the emperor in concurring in the celebration of a council was praiseworthy: but his wish to exclude from it the occidental bishops was reprehensible. But being compelled to yield, he, at length, consented that an equal number might be present from the East and West. In the meanwhile, he sent to Vigilius the edict concerning the "Chapters," demanding in writing his opinion of it. The pontiff at first refused to anticipate the decision of the bishops: but being pressed by the impatience of the emperor, and having obtained the short term of twenty eight days to examine it, at the expiration of that

(1) Ap. Sur. 6 Apr.

(2) Ext. una cum Vigil. resp.

(3) Spond. ad ann. 553. III.

interstice, he wrote on the subject his answer called *Constitutivum*.

The bishops now assembled, from the East to the number of an hundred and sixty five, of whom the principal were Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinaris of Alexandria, and Domnus of Antioch.

On the fourth of May, without any regard to the sickness of Vigilius, or waiting for the occidental bishops, the orientals assembled. In the first session was read a memorial of the emperor, shewing what had taken place touching the question of the " Chapters," and praying the fathers to pronounce their opinion. Then were read the letters of Eutychius of Constantinople to Vigilius, and the answer. The synod then decreed that a solemn deputation should wait upon the pope, and invite him to appear : of these deputies, three were patriarchs, the rest were all metropolitans. (1) On account of his illness, Vigilius could not, however, attend. Thus ended the first session.

(1) Act. Conc. vid. Spond. ad ann. 558. II.

In the second session, the deputies informed the synod, that the pope could not be present, as there were so few occidental bishops : but the emperor again sending the same personages, together with Belisarius and six other patrician and ex-consular characters, Vigilius requested, and obtained a term, in which he might give his opinion. Three bishops were next deputed to invite to the synod Primasius, an African bishop, then at Constantinople, and some prelates of Illyricum : they, however, refused to attend ; the former, because the pope, the latter, because their archbishop Benenatus, were not present.

In the third session, the bishops made a profession of faith : declaring that they believed what the Apostles and the four first synods had taught, and what the holy doctors of the Church, as well Greek as Latin, have professed to believe.

In the fourth session, the blasphemies collected, as it was said, from the various writings of Theodore of Mopsuesta, were ordered to be read : against which, the council exclaimed with detestation.

In the fifth session, was read whatever had been written by the fathers or historians, against Theodore : it was then proved by many testimonies, that a person may be condemned after death : after which were recited the acts of the synod of Mopsuesta, held against Theodore. The synod then praised the wisdom of the council of Chalcedon for not receiving Theodoret until he condemned Nestorius.

The pope had now made known his opinion respecting the "Three Chapters" in an instrument, addressed to the Synod, under the name of *Constitutivum*. (1) He dwelt, at length, on, and refuted, the errors said to be found in the writings of Theodore : these errors, as well as those of Ibas and Theodoret, he anathematized : but their persons, he contended, should not be condemned, as they had been received by the council of Chalcedon : and finally, he decreed, that any writing or opinion, contrary to this his *Constitutivum*, should be of no authority. To this, sixteen bishops and three deacons affixed their signatures,

(1) It may be found in Baronius, To. VII. ad ann. 553.

In the sixth session, the cause of Ibas was again agitated : his epistle was condemned by all ; and anathema was pronounced against Nestorius, and Theodore of Mopsuesta. (1)

In the seventh session, were read, at the solicitation of the emperor, several letters of Vigilius, with a view of convicting him of having before condemned, and afterwards defended the " Chapters." And, in fine, the eighth and last session was concluded by pronouncing sentence against the " Chapters," viz : against Theodore of Mopsuesta, the epistle of Ibas and the writing of Theodoret against S. Cyril. At the end of the sentence were appended twelve anathemas against Nestorius and Eutyches : all of which were subscribed by an hundred and sixty five bishops.

It is needless to observe that thus far, this council cannot claim the appellation of œcumenical : since the Sovereign Pontiff was not only not present, either in person or by proxy, but the sentence pronounced was contrary to his decree. (2) The heretics were not con-

(1) Vide Spond. 553. XI.

(2) Leont. de sect. act. 6. in. fin.

verted: the orthodox were divided by a schism: and a persecution was waged by the emperor, against all who refused to receive the condemnation of the "Three Chapters." (1)

How then did this synod obtain the prerogatives of a general council? Because it was afterwards confirmed by Vigilius and his successors: as was the case with the synod held at Constantinople under Theodosius the elder, contrary to the decree of Damasus: by whom, however, it was afterwards approved, and numbered among the general councils. (2) It may be asked, did Vigilius err in defending, or did he afterwards, and his successors err in condemning, the "Chapters"? To this I reply, that, as I remarked above, in this controversy there was no question concerning *faith*: and the object of all parties was to act in conformity with the council of Chalcedon. When, therefore, the "Chapters" were condemned, there was no derogation from that council, but something more conspicuous was pronounced. For, when in it, the praises of Theodore of

(1) Liber. breviar. c. ult.

(2) Sponden, ad ann. 553. KV. XVI.

Mopsüesta were recited, the epistle of Ibas in some points was received, and Theodoret applauded with acclamations, the holy synod did not, at the same time, approve of their errors: on this account it was, that Vigilius was induced at first to condemn the "Chapters." He afterwards changed his opinion: 1. because he saw, that to re-investigate the proceedings of the council of Chalcedon, would be to invade its dignity and authority: 2. because he feared, that, should he persist in his former opinion, the church of Africa, as well as of all the West, would be divided by a schism: 3. because he was convinced, that the whole Eastern Church would separate from the Western. Wherefore, he deemed it expedient, (and it certainly did not affect the integrity of the orthodox faith, as the question was merely about *persons*) to change his sentiments, and approve the acts of the council. (1)

Nearly nine years had now elapsed, since Vigilius had left Italy: the question of the "Three Chapters" being concluded, the emperor permitted him to prepare for his return.

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 555. I.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 555, he quitted Constantinople, and sailed for Sicily: at Syracuse, he was suddenly taken ill, and died after having sat sixteen years. His body was transported to Rome and buried in the church of S. Marcellus on the Salarian way. By a just judgment of God he was taken off, wasted with afflictions and infirmities, in the island in which S. Silverius, his predecessor, had been condemned to linger and die. He ascended, by illicit and criminal acts, the throne of the popes; on that elevation he enjoyed no repose: he had studied to ingratiate himself into the favour of the emperor; after all his endeavours, he only incurred his ill will: to the oriental bishops, against whom he had so long contended, he was odious: by the occidental supporters of the "Chapters," he was held in contempt, for adhering to the persons who opposed them.

CHAPTER VII.

EMPERORS.

JUSTINIAN, CONTINUED.

JUSTIN II.

TIBERIUS.

MAURITIUS.

PHOCAS.

POPES.

PELAGIUS.

JOHN III.

BENEDICT.

PELAGIUS II.

S. GREGORY, THE GREAT

*From the fifth general council, anno 553, to
the death of S. Gregory the great. Anno
604.*

IN the room of Vigilius, the archdeacon Pelagius, by birth a Roman, was raised to the pontifical chair: with him, at first, on account of a suspicion that he had caused the death of Vigilius, almost all of the clergy and people refused to communicate: so that his consecration was performed by only two bishops, John and Bonus, assisted by one priest, whose name wa

Andrew. (1) But after the ceremony, having made a procession from the church of S. Pancratius to that of S. Peter, he ascended the pulpit, in the presence of all the people, and with the book of gospels and a cross in his hands, cleared himself of the accusation, and promulged a decree against all who should ascend, by illicit means, to the ecclesiastical dignities.

In the meanwhile, the barbarians, under Totilas, swept their way into the heart of the empire: (2) on his route near Monte Cassino, the Goth, expressed a desire to see the celebrated S. Benedict. With this view, he sent to the monastery one of his principal officers, robed in purple and accompanied by three lords. When he entered Benedict remained seated, saying: "Lay aside that purple, my son, for it is not thine." (3) The officer, struck at this prophetic reception, fell prostrate at his feet. Totilas, afterwards, made his appearance, and penetrated with reverence, at the sight of the holy man, threw himself on the ground; nor dared to rise, till commanded by

(1) Spond. ad ann. 555. II. (2) Procop. de bell. Goth. lib. 3.

(3) Greg. Dial. lib. 1. cap. 2.

him. (1) Benedict then foretold his conquests, and the events that should occur during his reign; assuring him that "in the tenth year of his victories, *he* should be conquered by death." (2) The Goth was seized with terror, and recommended himself to the prayers of the saint.

From Naples, Totilas proceeded to the walls of Rome: the city not being in a condition to hold out a long siege, was in a short time, reduced to extreme misery: the provisions were soon entirely exhausted: nor would the barbarian listen to the proposals of a truce. A calamitous famine ensued: the citizens, after consuming the flesh of animals of all descriptions, and living upon herbs and grass, were at length in a state of a starvation: the forces sent from Constantinople were detained in their march, and routed by the Goths: at length, some Isaurian soldiers, induced by a considerable reward, opened to the barbarians the gate Asi-anaria, through which they poured, at night, like a torrent: of the Romans, many fled with

(1) Greg. Dial. lib. 2. cap. 14. 31. die. 3

(2) Lib. 2. cap. 1. 6. 12. 18.

their generals, and a few took shelter in the churches. (1)

The city was given up to plunder: but the lives of all, and the chastity of the women, were protected: amid the desolation of these times, might be seen the principal citizens of Rome, men and women, begging their bread from door to door. (2) The sack of Rome by Totilas, occurred in the year 547. The designs of the Almighty were now accomplished, and the Goth was to be removed from Italy: the conqueror of that formidable chieftain was Narses; who, being placed at the head of the imperial armies, marched without opposition to Ravenna; and afterwards crossing the Rubicon was met by Totilas, in Tuscany: Narses was virtuous, and a lover of justice: in God he put his trust: and routed and slew the mighty Goth. Theias, who dared to mount the Gothic throne, was also put to death: and the dynasty of the Ostrogoths was, by this event, destroyed in Italy. (3)

(1) Spond. ad ann. 547. I. • (2) Id. II.

(2) These circumstances are minutely narrated by Procopius, who here puts an end to his history of the Gothic war. Vide Spondan. ad ann. 553. III.

The controversy concerning the "Three Chapters" had not yet subsided : Pelagius confirmed the decree of his predecessor ratifying the canons of the fifth synod, and in order to silence the murmurs of some bishops who still continued refractory, had recourse by letter to Narses. (1) The approbation by Pelagius of the fifth synod was regarded by the schismatical bishops of the West as a violation of the true doctrine : much excitement was created in Gaul ; in consequence of which, the pious king Childebert deputed to Rome Ruffinus to enquire of Pelagius whether he should follow the letter of S. Leo against Eutyches. In his answer, Pelagius anathematized all who should deviate, in the least, from the doctrine of the epistle of S. Leo, or of the council of Chalcedon. (2) With the view, however, to remove every possible doubt, Childebert requested of the pope a more minute profession of faith : with this demand Pelagius not only complied, but deemed it prudent, in order that the whole world might be satisfied concerning his opi-

(1) Pelag. ep. 2. 3. 4. 5. Tom. 1. ep. Rom. Pontif.

(2) Vide Baron. Annal. Tom. VII. ad ann. 556. Spond. eod. ann.

nion, to expedite circular letters on the subject of the catholic faith to the various nations of the world. (1) Pelagius sat but four years : he died on the second of March 559, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter. (2) After a vacancy of three months, John III., a Roman, was chosen to succeed him.

In Gaul S. Euphronius was, this year, created bishop of Tours : (3) under him, was held a council at Paris, at which he presided. Many other illustrious prelates adorned that flourishing church, during this period : such as S. Germanus bishop of Rouen, and S. Leontius bishop of Bordeaux. (4)

In the East, a conspiracy was formed against the emperor : in which the famous Belisarius, accused of being a co-operator, was deprived of his goods and dignity, and after lingering two years in disgrace, died at Byzantium. (5) By some latin historians it is related, that he was deprived of his sight, and reduced to the extreme necessity of begging his bread from

(1) Spond. ad ann. 556. II.

(2) Spond. an. 559. I.

(3) Greg. Tur. lib. 1 mirac. S. Mart. cap. 32.

(4) Spond. 559. III.

(5) Id. 561. II.

door to door. (1) This is, however, contradicted by Alciatus, the steady defender of Justinian. (2)

Under the pontificate of John III., died the celebrated Cassiodorus: from the reign of Theodoric to that of Vitiges, he had filled and honoured, the highest political offices: after which, trampling under foot all the glory of the world, he founded, and retired into, the monastery of Viviers: where he spent the remainder of his days in prayer and study. Of his many lucubrations, he himself makes mention, in his book *de divinis lectionibus*: those extant abundantly shew, that he was at once a most holy and most learned man. In his rules, he

(1) Crinit de honest. discipl. lib. 15. Volater. Pontan. et alii.

(2) Alciat. 4. parerg. 24. I find several contradictory opinions concerning this unfortunate man: by some it is said, that he had his eyes forced out, and died in misery: by others, that he was disgraced for a time, and afterwards restored to his former dignities. Zonaras Glicas, Cedrenus, Constantinus Manasses affirm that he was deprived, through envy, of his goods and dignities, but say nothing of his restoration. The reader may, perhaps, be pleased with the following Iambics by a Greek author:

Iste Belisarius, imperator magnus

Justinianeis existens temporibus imperator

Ad omnem quadrantem terræ cum explicuisset victorias,

Postea invidia exsiccat (O fortunam instabilem!)

Poculum ligneum detinens calamabat plebi in stabulo

Belisario obulum date imperatori. etc.

enforces as an indispensable duty, the study of the sacred scriptures; for the proper understanding of which, he considers as necessary the liberal arts, among which he comprises grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Of his works, that of the Epact, and the computation of years from the Incarnation of Christ, is one of the most important. (1)

In the year 564, Justinian, in consequence of their rejecting his famous decree, began an open persecution against the orthodox bishops: of his indignation the first victim was Eutychius of Constantinople; who, accused of the most ridiculous crimes, was condemned by a schismatical convention, forcibly driven from his church, and banished into Amasea in Pontus. In his place was chosen a vain glorious and avaricious man, by name John, commonly styled *Scholasticus*. (2) But the emperor was soon overtaken by the divine vengeance: the year following, he died at midnight, after having swayed the sceptre thirty eight years. (3)

(1) Spond. 562. II.

(3) Evgar. lib. 4. cap. 40.

(2) Ap. Sur. 6. April.

In the character of Justinian may be descried few good qualities; and these almost buried under a heap of vices: if he erected churches, it was not with the money of his own exchequer: (1) so great was his avarice, that he seized with sordid rapacity, on the property of his subjects: charging the rich with groundless accusations in order to grapple hold of their goods: the new laws which he enacted, and the old ones which he revived, had no other tendency than that of his pecuniary aggrandizement: if he affected for some time, to be a defender of the faith, he proved an obstacle to the prosperity of religion, by a singular passion for intermeddling in ecclesiastical matters, and arrogating certain rights over sacred things and persons.

On the very day of his demise, the senate conferred on Justin, his nephew, the imperial insignia: by the patriarch John, the crown was placed on his head: after which, in a set speech, he addressed the people, complained of the exactions of his uncle, and promised to make a general restitution. Evagrius adds,

(1) Evagr. lib. 4. 29.

that he gave orders for the revocation to their sees of all the exiled bishops : Eutychius, however, was not re-instated, till after the death of John Scholasticus. (1) He issued an edict, in which he exhorted all to embrace the doctrine and unity of the catholic faith : but though orthodox in principle, in his morals he was dissolute : and though he affected to condemn, in his subsequent conduct he exceeded, the avarice of his uncle.

But the tumult of the barbarians, rushing like a cataract into Italy, cannot but break at this epoch, on the ears of the reader. Narses, the avenger of Italy, having become an object of envy to the Roman lords, was accused of oppressing the Italians : in consequence of which he was recalled by the emperor, and succeeded by Longinus. (2) That great barrier being removed, the torrent had way, and the plains of Italy were deluged. The Lombards, who had long been shut up in Pannonia, now, under their king Alboinus, ven-

(1) Ap. Sur. 6 April.

(2) Paul. Diac. de gest. Longobard. lib. 1. cap. 5. For the subsequent history of Narses, I refer the reader to Spond. ad ann. 567. II. III.

tured beyond their limits; and confederated with the Bulgarians, Gipedians, Sarmatians, Suevi, and others (each of which was a match for the Roman power) burst into Italy. (1) This eruption occurred in 568: two years later, as Paul the deacon relates, they took possession of Milan, and all the places as far as Tuscany, with the exception of Rome, Ravenna, and some maritime castles. Alboinus did not long enjoy his conquests: by the intrigue of his wife Rosimunda, he was assassinated, after having reigned in Italy three years and six months. He was succeeded by Clephis, who, after a reign of one year, was assassinated by a slave: after which, the Lombards carried devastation through the empire. The Sovereign Pontiff, John, after having sat thirteen years, died in July 572, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter. After a vacancy of ten months, the holy see was filled by Benedict, surnamed *Bonosus*, a Roman. (2)

(1) Paul. Diac. lib. 2. cap. 12. Procop. lib. 3. de bell. Goth. Lombardy, in latin Longobardia, was so called from two words of the language of that people, viz: *lang* long, and *baert* beard. Whence the line of Gunther:

Dicitur a longis ea Longobardia barbis.

(2) Evagr. lib. 5. cap. 16.

While the barbarians were ravaging Italy, the kings of Gaul were spreading dissensions, by their feuds, through their dominions. Chilperic of Soissons, had married Galsuintha : but dazzled by the charms of Fredegundes, discarded her from his bed. Unable to brook the complaints which she made of this unjustifiable treatment, he ordered her to be assassinated. (1) A few days after, the ceremony of matrimony was performed between the king and Fredegundes : this proceeding created a deadly separation between him and his brother Sigebert, who drove him from his kingdom ; but when entering in triumph into Paris, was put to death by two men bribed for the purpose. Of the kingdom of his brother, Chilperic seized the greater part. The rival of Fredegundes was Brunehildis ; her son Childebert, a boy of eight years, was, after the death of his father, made king of Austrasia : Chilperic had a son surnamed Merovée, who dared to contract with his aunt Branchildes, an incestuous marriage. Indignant at this conduct, Chilperic rose in arms against his son, subdued

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. 4. cap. 28.

him, ordered him to be shorn, ordained priest and shut up in the monastery of S. Calais. (1) He fled to the basilick of S. Martin of Tours, and, by threats, compelled the bishop Gregory to give him admission : Chilperic ordered him to be expelled as an apostate : but Gregory, refusing to violate the ecclesiastical immunities, he sent an army by which that whole region was devastated. Meanwhile the unfortunate Merovèe, impatient to know what was to be his fate, had recourse to a superstitious practice, commonly styled *the lot of the saints* : on the tomb of S. Martin he laid the book of kings, the psalms, and the gospels, and after fasting three days, opened each at random ; all of which appeared to prognosticate some impending calamity. In despair, he fled to Brunehildis, but was not received by the Austrasians. (2)

In this same year, 579, died S. Germanus, the illustrious bishop of Paris. (3) His epitaph was written by Chilperic, who was versed

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. 5. cap. 14. Spondan. ad ann. 579. IV.

(2) Spond. ann. 579. IV.

(3) Greg. Tur. lib. 5. cap. 8. His life was written by Venantius Fortunatus.

in latin literature, and not unacquainted with the greek. (1) The year following, was held the council of Paris in the case of Prœtextatus, bishop of Rouen, who was accused : 1. of having married Merovée to Brunechildis : 2. of having conspired with her against the king : 3. with having seized on some of the royal monies. To these charges, though in fact they were mere calumnies, Prœtextatus, solicited by the courtiers, and flattered with the hope of pardon, had the weakness to plead guilty ; and being scourged, was exiled to an island. S. Gregory of Tours, who was present at the synod, magnanimously defended the immunities of the Church. (2) This council of Paris was held in the third year of the pontificate of Pelagius II., who had succeeded to Benedict, in 577. Tiberius was at this epoch wielding the imperial sceptre, in the place of Justin ; who, after a reign of thirteen years and nine months, departed this life. (3)

(1) Aimon. lib. 3. cap. 16.

(2) Greg. Tur. 5. hist. Fr. 18. He adds that Merovée, dreading to fall into the hands of his enemies, put himself to death in 580.

(3) Spond. add ann. 579. I. The following lines were written on Justin by Mycillus :

[Ingenio

The Persians, under their king Cosrhoes, again invaded the Roman empire : but Tiberius, with his brave generals Justin, the grandson of Justinian, and Mauritius, who afterwards ascended the throne, not only defeated and drove them from the empire, but carried devastation into Persia, and caused the king to die of grief and mortification. He was succeeded by Hormisda. (1) The reign of Tiberius was short : it began in 579, and ended, with his life, in 583. (2) Before his demise, he bequeathed to Mauritius the empire, and his daughter Constantina in marriage. By all contemporary writers the fortitude, piety, and other distinguished virtues of Mauritius, are highly extolled : he was a descendant of an ancient Roman family, but a native of Cappadocia.

Ingenio et pietate minor (Justiniano) non tempore tantum

Hic fuit : ast ingens cultor avaritiæ.

Regna sub hoc *Longi* ceperunt *Italia Bardi* :

Ipse pedum morbo, mentis egenus obit.

(1) *Evagr. lib. 5. cap. 14. 15. Agath. lib. 4.* The latter author affirms, that Cosrhoes was superior to any of the ancient kings of Persia, not excepting Cyrus. *Spond. 581. I.*

(2) Of Tiberius the same *Mycillus* writes :

Ast hic divitias regni elargitur egenis

Erga alios facilis nec gravis ipse sibi.

Devicit Persas, et successore creato,

Ipse domi placida morte quietus obit.

Fredegundes still continued in her career of crime: through her instigation, Chilperic, returning at dusk from the chase, was suddenly assassinated as he dismounted from his horse.

(1) By S. Gregory of Tours, Chilperic is styled *the Nero of his times, another Herod*: on account of his hatred for the clergy and the church; the rapacity with which he grasped the property of others; his lust, and extreme cruelty. (2) He left behind him an infant by name Clotaire. But the greater part of his dominions fell into the hands of Guntheram, his brother.

In Spain, a fierce persecution was waged against the Church, by Leovigildus, an Arian king: by whom, many of the faithful were exiled, proscribed, incarcerated, scourged, and cruelly put to death (3) The king's eldest son, Herminigildus, had married Ingundes, the daughter of Sigebert king of the Franks, by Brunichildes; a princess of sound faith and heroic courage. Being solicited by Galsuintha, her mother-in-law, to abjure her religious prin-

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. 6. cap. 46. Ado in Chron. at alii.

(2) Vide Spond. ad ann. 587. VII. (3) Greg. 5. hist. 38.

ciples, and constantly refusing to acquiesce in the demand, she was scourged to blood, and then forcibly re-baptized by the Arians. But so far from yielding, she exhorted her husband so effectually to forsake his errors, that he joined himself to the number of the Catholics: indignant at his conversion, Leovigildus declared war against his son and against the Church.

Herminigildus, conscious of the inequality of their forces, confederated with the Greeks, who were waging war, in Spain, against the Goths; and despatched to Mauritius the emperor, S. Leander, a bishop distinguished for his learning and piety. (1) The war continued, with varied alternations, during several years: at length, Herminigildus, basely deserted by the Greeks with whom he had associated, fled to the church: but, (his father having sworn to afford him security) he no sooner left his asylum, than he was thrown into prison; and resolutely refusing to adhere to the Arian doctrines, on the night of Easter, by the command of his father, was killed by the stroke of an axe. (2) His martyrdom occurred in the year 588.

(1) Greg. 5. cap. 38.

(2) Id. lib. 8. cap. 28.

The following year, Prætextatus, so long an object of the persecution of Fredegundes, was privately put to death, by order of that modern Jezebel : as he knelt before the altar, an assassin struck off his head. (1)

In consequence of an extraordinary inundation of the Tiber, and the dead serpents and fishes left upon its borders, a plague broke out in Rome, of which pope Pelagius fell the first victim, after a pontificate of twelve years, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter. (2) On his decease, the eyes of all were immediately fixed on Gregory ; who, after filling the office of prefect of the city, had embraced the monastic life, been created deacon of the Roman church, sent to Constantinople, and after his return, commissioned to write in the name of Pelagius against the schismatical abettors of the " Three Chapters." The holiness of his life, lustre of his family, and his experience and learning, eminently qualified him for the dignity with which he was to be invested.

Gregory, at first, declined the honour ; and, by letter, conjured the emperor not to confirm

(1) Greg. cap. 31. et 41.

(2) Greg. Pap. 4. dial. 36.

his election : (1) but the letter was intercepted by Germanus, prefect of Rome, who immediately informed Mauritius of the choice, affirming, that the greatest blessing, during those calamitous times, should be the confirmation of the appointment of such a man as Gregory. On the reception of the imperial answer, the holy deacon concealed himself in a cavern ; but being discovered, was forcibly carried to the basilick of S. Peter, where he was consecrated, on the third of September, anno 590. (2)

As the pestilence still continued its ravages, and the city was visited by many other calamities, the zeal of the Holy Pontiff was roused : and being reproved by John, bishop of Ravenna, for wishing to evade the pastoral charge, he composed his celebrated work, *de pastorali cura* : it is divided into three parts : in the first, he treats of the qualifications necessary for so great a dignity : in the second, of the manner in which a pastor should discharge his duty : and in the third, of the remedy against

(1) Spond. ad ann. 590. III.

(2) Joan. Dial. vit S. Greg.

the temptations to which he will be exposed, especially against pride.

One of the principal studies of Gregory was to bring back to the church those schismatics who had separated in the controversy of "the Chapters," and the Arian Lombards. (1) To this end, with the co-operation of the emperor, he convoked a synod at Rome: and sometime after addressed to the patriarchs of the oriental church, a synodical letter, in which he made a profession of faith, declaring that he venerated the four first councils as he venerated the four gospels: and that he received the fifth against the "Three Chapters." (2) To Theodolinda, queen of the Lombards, he also wrote, and despatched as the bearers of his letters, John an abbot, and Hippolytus a notary. (3) This princess, after the death of her husband Antharith, had espoused Agilulph, duke of Tarentum: who, having subdued all his adversaries, secured to himself the kingdom of Italy; and, with the exception of Rome and Ravenna, extended his sway from the Alps as far as Calabria. Through his virtuous queen Theodolin-

(1) Greg. Tur. ep. 14. 16. 17.

(2) Id. 1. ep. 24.

(3) Id. 3. ep. 4.

da, he embraced the catholic faith, and received, in baptism, the name of Paul. (1) The object of his letter to Theodolinda was, to encourage her to resist the solicitations of persons who still abetted the "Chapters," and to adhere to Constantius, bishop of Milan. (2)

The Roman church, at this period, possessed extensive *patrimonies*, not only in Italy and Sicily, but also in Asia, Gaul, and Africa: the administration of which was generally confided to sub-deacons. (3) From the revenues of these lands, ample donations were made to monasteries and churches, and abundant alms were distributed among the poor. Of the prerogatives of the Roman See, S. Gregory was extremely jealous; and defended them with his wonted nobility of soul, against the pretensions of the patriarch of Constantinople, John, who assumed the title of *Œcumenical Patriarch*. (4) With the presumption of that ambitious man, Gregory had long and patiently borne: the honour of his see now called upon him to act: accordingly he reproved him by

(1) Paul. Diac. lib. 3. cap. ult. et lib. 4. cap. 1 et 2.

(2) Spond. an. ann. 591. II.

(3) Id. ann. 591. VIII.

(4) 4. ep. 39.

letter, and forbade his legate, Sabinian, to communicate with him. (1) To the emperor and empress, to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, and Anastasius, bishop of Antioch, he also wrote exhorting them to reject the proud appellation which the patriarch had claimed : “ for, to Peter, alone,” he says, “ has been entrusted the care of the *universal flock* ; and whoever violates this hierarchy, disobeys the command of God.” (2) His right, as head of the Church, Gregory undauntedly exercised : from the sentence of the patriarch the priests John and Athanasius appealed to the Holy See : they had been condemned of heresy, but were absolved in a synod, held for the express purpose at Rome in the year 595. The canons of this council were subscribed by twenty two bishops, and thirty four priests. (3)

To the patriarch, Gregory wrote in the following terms : “ what has occasioned in you so sudden a revolution ? you affected to shun the episcopal dignity, and you now abuse it, as if it had been procured by ambition : you declared that you were unworthy the name of

(1) 4. ep. 39. (2) Vide Spond. ad ann. 595. III. et IV.

(3) Vide Greg. epist. lib. 4. cap. 44.

bishop, and now you arrogate to yourself the title of Œcumenical: are you ignorant, that this appellation, according to the decision of the council of Chalcedon, is the exclusive prerogative of the bishops of Rome?" (1) "All Enrope," he writes in his epistle to the emperor, "is overrun with barbarians: castles are demolished; cities ruined; provinces laid waste; and *the lives* of the faithful are *in the hands* of idolaters: Rome, once the mistress of the world, now overwhelmed with opprobrium, abandoned by her citizens, insulted by her enemies, looks forward to utter ruin: what has become of the empire, the senate, the Roman people! of the quæstors and proconsuls, who watched over the provinces, and gathered laurels of glory to adorn the triumphs of the empire? and yet the bishops, instead of mourning over the ruin, ambitiously aspire to titles, dignities, and vain prerogatives." (2) "Our bones," he continues, "are withered with fasting, (alluding to the mortified appearance of the patriarch,) but our minds are puffed up with conceit: under the humblest exterior, we

(1) Ep. 4. 38.

(2) 4. ep. 32.

have the proudest hearts : we sleep on the ground, but love to domineer : and under the specious *clothing* of the sheep, we conceal the ferocious nature of the wolf. It is not *my* cause, but that of the universal Church, that I am defending : for, of the patriarchs of Constantinople, some, such as Nestorius and Macedonius, have been heretics ; therefore, if they were œcumenical, the whole Church was sunk in error with them : as an individual, I glory in being the servant of all the bishops."

The remonstrances of S. Gregory were ineffectual : the patriarch persisted in his pretensions, until his death, which happened in the beginning of the year 596. On account of his fasting and alms-deeds, he acquired during life the reputation, and enjoyed after death the title, of a saint : and his name, encircled with the halo of apparent sanctity, was transmitted by his partisans to posterity. (1) He was succeeded by Cyriacus, who immediately despatched an embassy to Rome, with letters to the pope, and a profession of the catholic faith. (2) In return, S. Gregory wrote to him ; as also

(1) Niceph. lib. 18. cap. 34.

(2) Niceph. lib. 18. cap. 34.

congratulatory letters to the emperor and bishops who ordained him : (1) but, at the same time, instructed his legate, Sabinian; not to communicate with him, unless he should give up all claims to the title of œcumenical, which had been usurped by his predecessor.

In Gaul, the whole Church appeared to be thrown into confusion by the broils of two royal nuns, Chrodieldes and Basina, daughters, the former of Charibert, the latter of Chilperic, kings of the Franks : under the direction of S. Radegundes, these ladies had made a solemn profession of virginity : after her death, disdaining to be governed by the abbess Leubonera, whose blood was not as noble as theirs, and disappointed in their expectations of succeeding to Radegundes, they tumultuously quitted their enclosure, under the pretext, that they went to expostulate with their royal fathers, against the abbess. But their appeal proving fruitless, they returned to Poitiers, and, through the agency of the most infamous and abandoned characters, spread devastation around ; assailed the monastery of S. Radegun-

(1) Greg. 6. ep. 4. 5. 6. 7.

des, and forced out, loaded with chains, the inoffensive abbess. (1) Of those who opposed them, many were scourged; some in, and some out, of the church of S. Hilary. In vain did Moroveus, bishop of Poitiers, and Gundegisilius, metropolitan of Bourdeaux, and many other provincial bishops attempt to check the scandal: by a council, held on this occasion, they were suspended from communion; but this sentence only exasperated the more the relentless nuns: by their command, a band of ruffians rushed into the church in which the synod was convened, and treated with cruel indignity the venerable bishops. In a second synod convoked by Guntheram, and another celebrated at Poitiers by the bishops of the two kingdoms of Guntheram and Childebert, the rebellious nuns were excommunicated, and the abbess was restored to her monastery. It was not long, however, before the bosom of Basina was visited with compunction: penitent for the crimes and sacrileges of which she had been a primary cause, she went in person to a synod which had been convened at Metz, and pros-

(1) Vide Spond. ad ann. 593. V. Greg. Tur. 9. hist. 39. et seq. et lib. 10. cap. 15. et seq.

trating herself at the feet of the bishops, besought them to grant her pardon and absolution. They did so : and she returned to deplore her sins amid the shades of the monastery. Chrodieldes, though, at the solicitation of king Childebert, absolved, pertinaciously refused to submit to an abbess in whose veins there circulated blood less noble than her own. (1)

Of the extraordinary zeal of Gregory the reader has seen many instances above : but the deed which added the brightest gem to his tiara, was the conversion of England. Of that island, he had long meditated the conquest : before his promotion to the papal throne, he longed himself to be the bearer of the light of the true faith to a nation, who might resemble *angels*, but were sitting in the shades of death.

(2) Augustine, a holy monk, was chosen to be the instrument of their conversion : and to him was associated a certain number of companions. When they reached Gaul, despair-

(1) Spond. 593. *ibid.*

(2) The anecdote is, no doubt, familiar to the reader, of Gregory, who, seeing at Rome some young slaves from England, and being told that they were *Angli*, replied that they were indeed *angeli*, (or angels.)

ing of their undertaking, they sent back Augustine to Rome, to dissuade the pope from the attempt. But Gregory was not so easily to be subdued : full of the project, he again despatched Augustine to Gaul, and exhorted by letter, his companions to continue their journey. (1)

Britain was now in possession of the Saxons and Angles : the former originally an obscure tribe occupying the district between the Elbe and the Eyder, the latter their neighbours running further North. Of the petty kingdoms of the island, that of Kent was the most respectable ; and it was, at this period, governed by Ethelbert, who had espoused Bertha, the daughter of king Charibert. The queen was a christian, the king an idolater. The missionaries arrived in safety on the isle of Thanet : the king received them under an oak, hoping, in that situation, to break the talisman, which, in any other, he was persuaded, the strangers would throw around him. As they approached the king, a silver cross and an image of the Redeemer were borne in front, and

(1) Bed. de reb. gest. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 23. See Lingard's England, chap. 2. vol. 1. pag. 85. and Camden, pag. 336.

the litanies were chanted : (1) Augustine then addressed the king, through an interpreter ; informed him of the nature and object of their mission, and asked leave to preach the “ glad tidings” to his subjects. The king replied, that the promises they held forth were indeed inviting ; but that he was happy in the service of the gods of his fathers : permission to preach he granted them ; he would secure them from molestation, and provide for their support. They then proceeded to Canterbury, chanting as they went along. (2) They immediately began the work for which they had travelled so far : the novelty of their doctrine, the miracles which they wrought, and the sanctity of their lives, drew around them thousands of the men of Kent. Ethelbert himself was amazed and convinced : on the feast of Pentecost, 597, he was baptized ; “ and on the following Christmas,” says Lingard, “ ten thousand of his subjects followed the example of their sovereign.” (3)

(1) Spond. ad ann. 597. III.

(2) Bed. 1. 25.

(3) History of England, vol. I. pag. 86.

After the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, Augustine, according to Bede, was sent back to France to receive the episcopal consecration, which was conferred on him by the archbishop of Arles. (1) On his return, Ethelbert granted him Canterbury and its vicinity: and an ancient temple, built by the Roman Britons, was repaired and allotted the missionaries as their residence, under the name of S. Saviour.

A minute account of this success was given to S. Gregory, by some of the co-labourers of Augustine who were sent to Rome, in 601, for a new supply of missionaries. The holy pontiff immediately granted the request: and sent with them, sacred vases, church-ornaments, books, and relics. (2) He wrote by the same opportunity to Augustine, a letter which is still extant, congratulating him on the happy result of his labours; and conjuring him not to suffer

(1) By some writers it is stated, that Augustine was consecrated on his way to England. Dr. Lingard appears to agree with Bede: Baronius leans to the opposite opinion. Vide Baron. annal. ad ann. 597. Spondan. *ibid.* III.

(2) Bed. 1. cap. 27. 28.

himself to grow proud on account of the miracles which God had operated through his agency. (1) He moreover sent him the *pallium*, and established the sees of the English church. To the king he likewise sent a letter felicitating him on his conversion. (2) Such are the outlines of an event, which, through the instrumentality of a monk and a few associates, introduced into England the light of the gospel; and from which it must date the origin of all its subsequent power and civilization.

In the meantime Mauritius, having given orders for the army to winter beyond the Istrus, the soldiers mutinied, and tumultuously determined on creating a new emperor: in this precarious experiment, they unanimously pitched upon Phocas, a hardy centurion, whom they carried in triumph upon their shoulders to Constantinople. On being informed of what was passing, Mauritius put to sea with his wife and children, but was driven back by a tempest. Phocas was now received by the senate in the Hebdomon, and, having made a confes-

(1) Greg. 9. ep. 58.

(2) Greg. 9. ep. 60.

sion of the catholic faith, was crowned and invested with the imperial ensigns, by Cyriacus, bishop of Constantinople. The children of Mauritius he ordered to be put to death before the eyes of their father; who, as he witnessed the tragic scene, exclaimed in the language of David: *thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgment is right.* (1) At length Mauritius himself was assassinated, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the sixty third of his age. Their heads were thrown in the field near the tribunal, where they were left to putrefy, till Phocas permitted them to be consigned to the earth. (2) This revolution occurred in the year 602.

S. Gregory survived the emperor Mauritius not quite two years: worn out with affliction, and infirmities, he expired on the twelfth of March, 604, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter: he sat thirteen years. Of this pon-

(1) Psal. 118. Vide Spond. 602. V.

(2) Theoph. Miscel. lib. 17. Cedr. in annal. Niceph. lib. 18. cap. 38. et seq. Peter, the brother of Mauritius, and several other distinguished personages were likewise put to death. It is related by Theophanes, that this bloody occurrence was made known at Alexandria by the oracles.

tiff, to whom posterity have associated the epithet of GREAT, contemporary writers speak with enthusiasm : the encomium of Idelphonsus, the holy bishop of Toledo, though exaggerated will convey an idea of the esteem in which he was held : “ He was,” says that writer in his book of ‘ illustrious men,’ “ divinely inspired with human science, so that none among the ancients were ever equal to him.” Of the works of Gregory, the principal are his *Sacramentarium*, and *Dialogues*. In the former we discover the ceremonies of baptism, ordinations, public processions, litanies, blessing of candles, ashes, palms, &c. In the latter, he comprises, by way of dialogue, the actions of the great men of Italy, especially of those who flourished during his time : in these, the interlocutor is Peter, a deacon, a man with whom he lived in terms of peculiar intimacy. Of S. Gregory there are extant more works than of any other pope : besides the two just mentioned, he wrote thirty five books on Job : twenty two homilies on Ezechiel, forty on the gospels, and an *antiphona-*

ry for the use of the churches. He is regarded as the last of the latin doctors. (1)

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 593. III. Besides the above works, John, the deacon, mentions thirteen books of epistles: all which are extant, though reduced to twelve books. Id. ann. 604. V. S. Gregory was the author of that solemn chant which derives its name (the Gregorian chant) from him. He established at Rome a singing school which continued for 300 years: his chant was adopted by all the churches. Joan. Diac. 11. cap. 6. As solemn masses were less frequent in those times, than at present, certain churches were designated in the *Sacramentarium*, for the celebration of the divine mysteries: and this gave rise to the STATIONS, which are still to be found in the Roman Missal. The festivals of the saints were celebrated in the churches in which their relics reposed. A few remarks on the stations may here be necessary: the city was divided into seven quarters; of each, the clergy served in rotation: there were three kinds of churches: I. BASILICS, to the number of five, viz: S. John of Lateran, S. Peter of the Vatican, S. Mary Major, S. Lawrence out of the walls, and the Holy Cross of Jerusalem: II. TITULARIES, to the number of 30, which were under the care of priests, of whom the chief was styled the *Cardinal Priest*: III. DIACONARIES, from which alms were distributed by the deacons to the seven districts, and were governed by an arch-deacon. IV. Finally, ORATORIES, to which no priest was permanently attached, and which were generally situated in cemeteries: and sometimes in private houses.

CHAPTER VIII.

EMPERORS.

PHOCAS, CONTINUED.
HERACLIUS.
CONSTANTINE.
HERACLIUS II.
CONSTANTIUS.
CONSTANTINE PROGONATUS.

POPPS.

SABINIANUS.
BONIFACE III.
S. BONIFACE IV.
S. DEUSDEDIT.
BONIFACE V.
HONORIUS.
SEVERINUS.
JOHN IV.
THEODORUS.
S. MARTIN.
S. EUGENIUS.
S. VITALIAN.
S. ADEODATUS.
DOMNUS.
S. AGATHO.
S. LEO II.

From the death of S. Gregory the great, anno 604, to the condemnation of the heresy of the Monothelites. Anno 681.

AFTER the demise of S. Gregory, the holy see remained vacant during six months : after

which, Sabinianus, by birth a Tuscan, was chosen, not, however, without opposition to succeed him. (1) Under this pontiff, died at Canterbury the great S. Augustine, the apostle of England : before his decease, he consecrated two bishops, Mellitus for the city of London, where Ethelbert erected the noble church of S. Paul; and Justus for Rochester, where the same virtuous king founded the church of S. Andrew. (2) To S. Augustine, in the primacy of all England succeeded Lawrence, whom that holy man consecrated before his death, lest during the vacancy, any dissensions might have originated. (3) Lawrence did not disappoint the hopes of the rising church : he laboured with indefatigable zeal, for the conversion of the whole island, and the union with the church of the ancient Britains, Scots, and Irish ; who, as Bede testifies, were separated by a common schism. (4)

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 604. VII.

(2) Bed. hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(3) That Augustine did this with the permission of the pope, there can be no doubt, as it was contrary to the ordinary canons of the church.

(4) Spond. ad ann. 604. VIII. This was respecting the celebration of Easter.

Sabinianus sat but five months: and was succeeded, after a vacancy of eleven, by Boniface III., a deacon of the Roman church, (1) who wore the tiara but eight months. Again the holy see remained vacant nearly eleven months; when Boniface, the fourth of the name, was consecrated on the 18th of September, 607. He immediately converted his house into a monastery, which he amply endowed. The celebrated temple of Rome, called the *Pantheon*, which had been built by Marcus Agrippa, and dedicated to Jove the Avenger, with the permission of Phocas he converted into a church, and consecrated to the honour of the Mother of God and all the Holy Martyrs.

(2)

Phocas had now become odious to the people: Heraclius, a brave general in Africa, resolved to free the empire from a tyrant: and with a numerous army, sailed for the east, and landed at Abydos: thence he continued to Heraclea, and finally to Constantinople; where, having routed the imperial troops near the gate of S. Sophia, he became master of the city.

(1) Anast. de Rom. Pontif.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 608. I.

Phocas was brought, clad in mourning, to the conqueror: "wretch," exclaimed Heraclius, "is it thus that thou hast governed the republic?" "It is thine," replied Phocas, "to govern it better." (1) Heraclius ordered his hands and feet to be amputated, and the trunk of his body to be burned. The crown was then placed on the temples of the conqueror, by Sergius the patriarch. Heraclius was a Cappadocian: noble, wealthy, strong, and handsome. He had betrothed, and now married, Eudocia, who was likewise crowned with him.

The patriarchal see of Alexandria was, at this period, filled by S. John, surnamed the *Almoner*: (2) a native of Cyprus, and son of the prefect of that island. His principal study, after his promotion to the patriarchate, was to provide for the necessities of the poor, whom he was accustomed to call his masters. His charity extended to the dead: he provided for the burial of the poor, and celebrated masses for the repose of their souls. (3) To the Syrians and inhabitants of Palestine, who fled to

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 610. I.

(2) Niceph. in Chron.

(3) Vit. S. Joan. per Leont. ap. Boll. To. 2. Item per Metaphr.

Egypt from the tyranny of the Persians, who were spreading devastation through the holy land, he afforded hospitality and protection : took care of the sick, and distributed to all the necessaries of life. He died in his native island, when accompanying Heraclius in his expedition against the Persians, in 620.

In the year 612, S. Columban, the celebrated Irish monk, to whom the Picts owed their conversion, (1) quitted his native island, and went to Gaul, where he founded the monastery of Luxen in Burgundy. Of this province Theodoric was king; who contracted for the saint a peculiar intimacy and esteem. (2) This prince was living in a state of adultery : Columban conjured him to dismiss his concubines and to take to his bed a lawful wife. Deeply affected by the remonstrances of the saint, he began to think seriously of reforming his life : but the ambition of Brunehildes proved a barrier in the way of his good resolves : unwilling to resign her claims to the issue of a legitimate marriage, she had an interview with Columban which ended in a determination of ridding

(1) Bed. de gest. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 4.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 612. II.

the kingdom of the importunate stranger. (1) With this view, she accused him of introducing into Gaul customs, which differed from the discipline of the church; and especially of persisting in celebrating Easter out of the proper time. He was accordingly expelled from the dominions of Theodoric. Passing through the territories of Clotaire the son of Chilperic, and Theodobert the brother of Theodoric, he was honourably received by those princes: to the former he foretold, that though now deemed the weakest of all the Gallic kings, he should witness the fall of Theodoric, and become the sole master of the entire monarchy. (2) The event verified the prediction: a dispute concerning the limits of their dominions arose between the two brothers Theodobert and Theodoric: the interposition of Clotaire was mutually solicited; but, by the advice of Columban, he refused to take part in the quarrel. To Theodobert the saint presented a singular alternative: to become either a priest or a monk: it was received with disdain by the courtiers; who replied, that either step would degrade

(1) Vit. S. Colum. cap. 31. To. 2. act. Benediet. p. 17.

(2) Vit. S. Colum. cap. 35. Spondan. ubi supr.

the majesty of a Merovingian king. If he refuse to do so voluntarily, returned Columban, he will be *forced* to it. To decide their quarrel, the two kings appealed to arms : Theodoric triumphed : his adversary was taken prisoner and sent to Brunechildes, by whom he was compelled to receive holy orders, and was afterwards traitorously slain. (1) Theodoric survived his brother but a year, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Sigebert. Clothaire, upon whom the crown should of right have devolved, resolved to obtain by force what was denied him by the ambition of Brunechildis. He declared war against the intruder, defeated, took him prisoner, and put him to death. Brunechildes also fell into the hands of the victor, by whom she was ordered to be exhibited with every mark of contumely on a camel ; and afterwards, tied to the tail of a wild colt, to be mangled to pieces. (2) Such was the miserable end of the woman, by whose advice or co-operation ten kings, according to Aimonius, were brought to an untimely end : (3)

(1) Jon. vit. S. Colum. ap. sur. 21. Nov.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 614. IV.

(3) Aim. lib. 4. cap. 1.

and thus was verified the prediction of Columban, that Clotaire should sway the sceptre of the whole monarchy of Gaul.

Columban was now in Italy, enjoying the sweets of solitude in the monastery of Bobio, which he founded near Milan. Clotaire, mindful of his benefactor, sent an embassy to him, pressing him to return to Gaul: the saint, aware of his approaching end, rejected the offer; but wrote to the king a letter, exhorting him to persevere in the practice of virtue. He died the following year, 615. I mentioned above, that Columban was the apostle of the Frisians: I must not forget to state, that he was also the apostle of a portion of the Suevi, who inhabited the country around Moguntia. (1) These people were idolaters: Wodan was the god whom they adored: but by the zeal and miracles of the saint, they forsook the deity of their fathers, and embraced the religion of the stranger. In a lonely and fertile spot, overshadowed by a chain of mountains, they erected an oratory, which was the origin of the celebrated monastery of S. Gal.

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 612. II.

Boniface IV., after a pontificate of six years, expired, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter : the holy see having continued vacant five months, Deusdedit, a Roman, was chosen to fill it. He sat three years, was buried near his predecessor, and succeeded by Boniface V., a Neapolitan.

At this period, the kingdom of Northumbria was governed by Edwin, a prince who had married Edelburga, a christian. To him, the zealous pontiff addressed a letter exhorting him to forsake the superstitions of idolatry, and another to his queen, urging her to do all in her power to effect the conversion of her royal husband. (1) He sent the pallium to Justus, who had been raised to the see of Canterbury in the room of S. Mellitus. (2)

Boniface sat seven years, and was succeeded, on the fourteenth of May, by Honorius, a native of Campania, in the year 626.

The letter of Boniface made an impression on the mind of Edwin : and though he did not immediately embrace christianity, he permitted his daughter Enflada to be baptized. Hav-

(1) Spond. ad ann. 612. III.

(2) Bed. de gest. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 8. et seq.

ing escaped the sword of an assassin commissioned by the jealous king of Wessex, he declared war against that king, and promised, in the event of victory, to become a christian. (1) At the head of his armies, he marched against the enemy, and obtained a signal victory. On his return, he was reminded by Paulinus of his vow : he immediately abstained from the worship of the gods, called an assembly of his witan, and asked their sentiments on the subject. Coiffi, the high-priest, not only approved of his resolution, but declared himself a convert to the new religion : and numbers of the most distinguished personages followed the example of their sovereign. Edwin's zeal was not satisfied with the conversion of his own subjects : to Eorpwald, king of the East-Angles, he explained the principles of the christian faith, and exposed the follies of idolatry : but Eorpwald was slain a short time after, and the crown devolved on Sigebert his brother, a fervent christian. With unabating solicitude did this

(1) See Lingard's history, vol. 1. pag. 93. The address of Coiffi to Edwin, as related by Dr. Lingard, is a beautiful specimen of the genius of the Anglo-Saxons, and the chaste diction of the author who relates it. Ling. ubi sup.

prince, aided by the co-operation of Felix, a Burgundian prelate, interest himself for the conversion of his subjects. (1) Felix received his mission from Honorius, who succeeded to Justus in the see of Canterbury. S. Paulinus, bishop of York, crossed the Humber, spread the light of the gospel along the western shore to the borders of the ocean, and built a church at Lincoln. So great was the tranquillity that reigned over the island, at this period, "that a woman with a babe at her breast, might have travelled undisturbed from one extremity to the other." (2)

Edwin's prosperity soon, however, excited the jealousy of his rivals: Ceadwalla, king of the Britons, confederated with Penda, a chieftain who inherited all the power, without the title, of the king of Mercia. Edwin met them between the Don and the Torre: but his army was routed, and he himself perished in the fight. The Briton was a christian, the Mercian an idolater: the former was of a ferocious character, the latter knew no law but revenge:

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 626. IV. Lingard, vol. I. pag. 94 & 95.

(2) Bed. 2. hist. cap. 9.

both determined to wreak their vengeance on the Northumbrians. By this defeat, the fair prospects of religion became gloomy: Paulinus fled with Edilberga and her children to Kent.

The kingdom of Northumbria fell into the hands of Osric, and Eanfled; each of whom had formerly received baptism, but relapsed into paganism: but they were soon slain by Ceadwalla, who continued in York to accomplish his boast, of exterminating the Northumbrians. The office of revenging the death of these princes devolved on Oswald, the younger of the sons of Edilfrid: with a small but valiant army, he marched against the murderer; planted a cross on the field; prayed on his knees; animated his men by a warm appeal to their piety and patriotism, and then rushed to battle and to victory. Ceadwalla was slain, and his army cut to pieces. (1)

By the piety of Oswald, this victory was attributed to the providence of the God of armies: and he conceived it to be his duty to make his subjects acquainted with him and his religion, from whom they had received so signal a fa-

(1) Lingard, vol. I. pag. 97.

vous. He immediately solicited from one of the monasteries of S. Columban a supply of missionaries, by whom his people might be instructed. The first sent was Corman, a monk whose morose disposition rendered him unfit for the purpose : he soon returned in disgust to his monastery. Adian, an inmate of the same monastery, a man of a mild and conciliating character, was chosen to succeed Corman. He received the episcopal consecration, and obtained from the bounty of the king the isle of Landisfarne, since called Holy Island. Adian laboured with unwearied care : as he was unacquainted with the language of the Northumbrians, Oswald condescended to explain his instructions to the people in their native tongue. He preached as well by example as by words : he was detached from all earthly things ; charitable towards the poor ; and the same to persons of all classes : when invited to dine at the royal table, he was always accompanied by two of his clergymen, and remained no longer than necessary. Under the direction of so holy and prudent an instructor, Oswald made rapid progress in virtue ; and christianity became the

predominant religion of the Northumbrians.

(1) Having married the daughter of Cynegils, king of Wessex, Oswald induced that prince to abjure his errors, and receive baptism, at the time when Birinus, sent by Honorius, landed on the coast of Wessex : on the foreign bishop, Cynegils bestowed the city of Dorchester, where afterwards was founded the celebrated monastery of Malmesbury. (2) Oswald was slain in battle by Penda, in 642 ; (3) and was succeeded by Oswin.

In Spain, the faith was, in the meanwhile, extending through the provinces : under the pious king Reccaredus, the whole Gothic nation was converted. In order to give stability to the work, a council was convoked at Toledo, of all Spain and that part of Gaul which was subject to the Goths : at which were present seventy bishops, together with the king and queen. (4) It was ordained, in order to restore, and preserve the splendour of the Spanish churches, so long clouded by error or pagan superstition, that the decrees of all the coun-

(1) Bed. 3. hist. cap. 3. 5.

(2) Id. 5. 7.

(3) Bed. lib. 9. cap. 9. 12. Spondan. ad ann. 642. II.

(4) Isid. in Chron. Goth. Aimoïn. lib. 3. de reb. Franc. c. 77.

cils and the synodical letters of the Roman Pontiffs should be enforced. (1) To Reccare-dus succeeded Liuba, to Liuba Witteric, to Witteric Gundemar. Under the last, another synod was held at Toledo : of which the object was to determine whether Toledo should be considered the metropolis of the whole province of Carthage : it was decided in the affirmative, confirmed by an edict of the king, and subscribed by twenty six bishops. (2)

On the demise of Gundemar, the crown of Spain devolved on the brows of Sisebut, by whom the Jews, induced by dint of punishment, were forced to embrace the christian religion : this act of violence was, however, condemned by the fourth council of Toledo. (3) During his reign was held at Seville, in the year 619, a council, at which presided S. Isidore, bishop of that city, and successor to his brother, S. Leander. The canons relate to matters of ecclesiastical discipline. (4) S. Isidore governed the church of Seville nearly forty years : to a singular piety and sanctity of life, he added a fund of learning and a bright

(1) Concil. Tolet. III. cap. 1. (2) Spond. ad ann. 610. VII.

(3) Can. 27.

(4) Conc. Tom. 4.

mind: of his works, the principal are his Chronicle, and his volume of Ecclesiastical Offices. (1)

In Gaul, the see of Metz was honoured by the virtues of Arnulph, a holy prelate, who was appointed by Clotaire, the preceptor of his son Dagobert; and that of Sens by S. Lupus: the latter having unjustly incurred the displeasure of the king, was sent into exile, but soon recalled with honour to his see. (2) At Vienne flourished S. Domnolus, at Bourges S. Austregisilius, at Angers S. Lezin, and at Mans S. Berram.

The court of Clotaire was adorned with several distinguished and holy personages: such as Pepin of Landen, mayor of the palace; who, together with his wife Ituberga, and his daughters Begua and Gertrude, has been canonized by the church: S. Didier treasurer of the king,

(1) There are extant, a missal and a breviary which are attributed to S. Isidore: the office is called *mozarabic*, from the word *mixtarabum*: for, during the tyranny of the Saracens, Spain was divided into christians, who lived among the Arabs like slaves, and others who fled either to the mountains or foreign nations: the former were mixt among the Arabs; for them the office was composed, and hence it assumes the name of *Mozarabic*. Spond. ann. 633. XI.

(2) Ap. Sur. 1 Sept.

and afterwards bishop of Cahors : S. Farou : S. Fara, who founded a monastery, of which she became the first abbess, and Marcia Rusticula, the descendant of an ancient and illustrious Roman family. But the greatest ornaments of the Gallic court were the celebrated saints Ouen and Eloi : the former the son of a lord, was chancellor of the kingdom, the latter descended from the ancient Romans, exercised the art of working in gold : (1) and his name is found on pieces of gold struck at Paris in the reign of Dagobert. (2) Ouen founded a monastery in the forests of Brie, whither, had not the king prevented it, it was his intention to retire from the world. Of this, S. Agilus, a disciple of S. Columban, was created the first abbot. The merit of these two illustrious men was too conspicuous not to be rewarded : the sees of Rouen and Noyon having become vacant, they were consecrated, Ouen for the former, and Eloi for the latter. (3)

But in the midst of these beautiful prospects, there was not wanting an “enemy” to sow the seed of religious dissension : in the monastery

(1) Sur. Decemb.

(3) S. E. Elig, lib. 2. cap. 2.

(2) Spicil. Pag. 147.

of Luxen, there was a monk by name Agrestinus, who had formerly been a notary of the king; under the pretext of preaching the gospel to the gentiles, he traversed over various countries, and went to Aquileia. He there became imbued with the schism occasioned by the controversy touching the "Three Chapters;" and returning to Gaul, endeavoured, but in vain, to draw others into the same errors.

(1) Failing in this attempt, he had recourse to another: he circulated against his own monastery the vilest calumnies; accused the monks of following certain practices which were contrary to the general discipline of the church, and gained over to his side several bishops. (2) To repress this disturbance, it was deemed expedient to convoke a synod: it assembled at Maçon; Agrestinus was refuted by Eustasius the abbot, and "cited to plead his cause with S. Columban within the space of a year. (3) The hypocrite affected to repent; but soon relapsing, went from monastery to monastery seducing many, until, at length, thirty days before the conclusion of the year 617, he was

(1) Vide Spond. ad ann. 618. II. (2) Id. Ibid. (3) Id. Ibid.

assassinated by his servant : his schism died with him, and the dupes of his fanaticism soon returned to a sense of their duty. (1)

In the East, the Persians were advancing apace : having devastated Palestine, Egypt, Lybia and Ethiopia, under the command of Sais, they approached Chalcedon. (2) Cosrhoes was still alive, and the soul of his armies : pretending to desire a pacification, he induced Heraclius to send him a deputation of seventy noblemen, whom he traitorously detained as prisoners. The indignation of Heraclius was roused : at the head of his forces, he hastened into Persia, and with the image of Christ towering in the van, rushed upon the enemy, and gained a signal victory. (3) He pushed his conquests into the heart of Persia : passed mount Taurus, reached the river Tigris, seized on Samosatæ, returned back over Taurus, and crossed the river Sarus, attacked and defeated Salarus, a brave Persian general, and wintered on the banks of the river Halis. (4)

Cosrhoes seeing his troops so often and so

(1) Jon. abb. vit. S. Eustas. ext. ap. Bed.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 621. II.

(3) Theoph. Cedr. Zona. et alii.

(4) Cedr. an. 14, Heracl.

shamefully routed, resolved to make a desperate attempt : he collected together all the forces that he could, and studied every artifice by which he might transfer the theatre of the war from Persia into Italy. He confederated with several ferocious nations, whom he persuaded to invade, at once, the royal city of Constantinople : while Sais, at the head of an immense number of strangers, citizens, and slaves, together with fifty thousand chosen men was sent to oppose the emperor. Heraclius divided his army into three parts : one he sent to defend Constantinople ; another he put under the direction of his brother Theodore, to break the power of Sais ; with the smallest, he himself marched against Cosrhoes : on his way the Oriental Turks, to the number of forty thousand, joined his standards. By Theodore, Sais was defeated and slain : Cosrhoes was reduced to the last extremity : (1) and fled with his wives, children, and treasures to Selencia, where he was put to death by his son Syroes. (2) The murderer succeeded his father, made peace with Heraclius, and restored all the cap-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 624. l. II. III. 626. II.

(2) Theoph. lib 18. Cedr. annal. 18. Heracl.

tives, among whom was Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem. The wood of the true Cross, which had been carried away, was returned, and the anniversary of this event has ever since been commemorated as a festival, both in the Greek and Latin churches. (1)

Hitherto the conduct of Heraclius was edifying, as his reign was glorious : at Hierapolis, there came to him a man by name Athanasius, patriarch of the Jacobitical heretics, to explain the principles of his doctrine : (2) dazzled by the eloquence of the impostor, the emperor promised him the patriarchate of Antioch, provided he would admit the council of Chalcedon, Athanasius, whose ambition was instantly roused, made no difficulty on the subject : but while he admitted two natures, he cunningly insinuated that there was but one will, in Jesus Christ.

Heraclius consulted Cyrus, metropolitan of Phasis, and Sergius of Constantinople : their

(1) The feast is called the *Exaltation of the Holy Cross* : by the Latins it is celebrated on the 14th of September : by the Greeks it is confounded with the exaltation of the cross, under Constantine the Great : a festival, which had been instituted under the same name, and celebrated on the same day, in the East, long before the reign of Heraclius. Vide Spond. ad ann. 628. I

(2) Theoph. Cedr. etc.

opinions coincided with that of Athanasius : and the unwary emperor, deceived by three patriarchs, was unconsciously lured into the heresy of the *Monothelites*. (1) This heresy took its rise in the fourth year of the pontificate of Honorius, who had succeeded Boniface V., in 626.

An exposition in nine chapters was drawn up by Cyrus, and approved by Sergius, which prepared the way for the new doctrine : under the pretext, that all the Egyptians would return to the unity of the Church, if the two words *two wills* and *operations* were suppressed ; they rejected them, and substituted the expression *θεινδρικαν* ; implying by it, that Christ had but one will, partly human, partly divine. (2)

Against this subtle deception, Sophronius, at this period a monk, but afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, declared : he wrote to Sergius, praying him to erase the chapter concerning *the one will*, and admit in explicit terms, the

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 629. II. They were called *Monothelites* from the greek words *μονος* *one* and *βελημα* *will*, because they admitted in Christ but one will or *action ενεργειαν*. Vide Berti. pag. 251.

(2) The term *θεινδρικαν* is compounded of *θεος* *God*, and *ανθρωπος* *man*.

two operations. On receiving this, Sergius immediately wrote to the pope a captious and insidious letter, informing him of what had taken place, and affecting to have nothing else in view than to effect a union among all parties, which he said could be done only by suppressing the terms *one will*, by those who admitted one, and *two wills*, by those who admitted two.

(1)

Honorius was perplexed by the cobweb which the sophism of Sergius had woven around him : he had no reason to question the sincerity of the patriarch, who professed to adhere to the epistle of S. Leo, and the council of Chalcedon, especially as he was not only believed to be orthodox, but was held in high estimation, as is manifest from the encyclic letter of Sophronius. (2) It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, if Honorius wrote to him, as to a man of sound faith and piety. “ We have received,” this was his answer, “ the letter by which you inform us, that a controversy about words has

(1) Ext. in Synod. Sext. act. 12.

(2) Sophronius not only speaks in his praise, but in the end of his letter, earnestly recommends himself to his prayers. Spond. ad ann. 633. IV.

been commenced by Sopronius, against our brother Cyrus of Alexandria : we applaud your zeal in opposing the novelty, which has proved a scandal to the weak : we confess one will in Christ, because the divinity assumed not our sins, but our nature ; as it was created in its original innocence : we do not see that the scriptures or councils authorise the teaching two wills : we know that there is but *one* Saviour, operating both with the divine and human nature : by expressing the *two operations*, we may be thought to admit the Nestorian, by expressing but *one*, we may be deemed to partake of the Eutychian, heresy." (1)

Encouraged by this reply of Honorius, and stimulated by the intriguing Sergius, Heraclius issued in confirmation of Monothelism a sol-

(1) Conc. VI. act. 12. From this letter of Honorius it has been inferred, that he fell into heresy : but it must be remembered, that when he wrote it, there was not the least suspicion of the orthodoxy of Sergius : nor could he be censured for suppressing the terms *will* or *wills*, as it was through an appearance of making peace, and especially as every novelty of expression is a subject of suspicion in the Church. To be strictly orthodox, it were sufficient to admit in Christ two natures united, *indivise, inconfuse, et inconvertibiliter*. But this Honorius admitted, confessing one operator of the divinity and humanity of Jesus. By what terms this operation should be expressed, he left to grammarians to determine.

emn edict, styled *Ecthesis*, which signifies an exposition. (1) A synod was then convened by Sergius, to whom was written, by Cyrus, a letter filled with adulation. In what light the *Ecthesis* was viewed by the sovereign pontiffs, and how lamentable were the effects which it produced, the reader shall soon perceive.

In the year 630, there arose in the East an imposter, who, assuming the title of prophet, deceived the credulity of thousands, and became the founder of a dynasty, than which a more direful curse was never inflicted on the world : Mahommed was born in Arabia Felix ; his father Abdalla, was an Ismaelite, a man of a servile condition : in his youth, he entered the service of a rich widow by name Tadiga, in the capacity of keeper of the camels : into the affections of this lady he gradually insinuated himself, and at length succeeded in marrying her. Having travelled into Palestine, he there acquired a confused notion of the principles of the Christians and Jews. He was subject to the falling sickness, and when his wife complained of his malady, he consoled her with

(1) It is derived from the Greek word *εκθησις*, signifying to expose.

the impious assurance that it proceeded from the familiar converse which he daily held with the Angel Gabriel. (1)

At the age of forty, he began to propagate a system, which allowed every carnal gratification in this world ; and held out rewards of a similar character to his followers, in the other. To those especially who should die in defence of his dogmas, he promised an eternal luxury. The principles of religion, blended with these gross notions, he adapted to Jews, Christians, and Manicheans. To entice the first, he taught the existence of one God ; the necessity of circumcision, and the abstinence from swine-flesh. To satisfy the second, he admitted the name of Christ : to please the last, he denied that Christ was crucified, and held the cross in abomination. He asserted, that to himself, as to the teacher of truth, the keys of Heaven should be given on the day of judgment : that men were destined by a resistless fate to good or bad : and that the star, called Cubar, should be adored. (2) All these follies

(1) Theoph. et Cedr. Damasc. de hæer. in fin. Spond. ad ann. 630. I. II.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 630. I. II.

and absurdities are contained in the sacred book of the Mussulmans, the Alcoran. By his artifices and impostures, he gradually became master of the kingdom of the Arabs : and after a despotic reign of nine years, died at Mecha, in 630. (1) The year after his decease he was succeeded by Aboubekra, in the twofold capacity of king and prophet. This man assumed the title of Kalif, which signifies Vicar of the Prophet, and reigned two years ; during which he subdued the greater part of the Arabs in the Persian and Roman dominions.

Aboubekra was succeeded by Omar ; who, to the title of Kalif, added that of Emir, or commander of the Faithful, which has been retained by all succeeding Kalifs : reduced under the Turkish domination Jerusalem, all Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, and destroyed the Persian empire. (2)

(1) His coffin was studded with precious stones, and suspended by the power of magnetism in the middle of the temple : Laonic. lib. 3. de reb. Turc. and thousands of pilgrims, notwithstanding the difficulty of travelling through the sandy deserts, flocked every year to the tomb of the prophet.

(2) The following lines by Petrus Cioffius may not be unacceptable to the reader :

Rex Mahomedus Arabs quædam spurcissima legum
Ac sæcem reprobæ sensus exponit, apertis

Honorius having died, after a pontificate of twelve years, in 638, was succeeded by Severinus ; by whom the *Ecthesis* was rejected and anathematized. (1) Severinus sat but two months : to him succeeded John IV. When Heraclius was informed of the condemnation at Rome of his *Ecthesis*, and the indignation awakened against him in the breasts of all good men, he issued a second edict, in which he declared that the *Ecthesis* had not been written by himself, but by Sergius, Bishop of Constanti-
nople : who, to give it more weight, affixed to

Pervertens populos verbis, armisque tuendam
Decernit per regna luem, ut discussio rerum
Absit iniquarum, nulli tentata virorum.
Tandem obit, indigna Mecha tumultus in urbe
Quippe superficie luxu constructa steterunt
Templa sibi, fulvoque auro, gemmâque nitenti,
In mediis corpus templis sublimè pependit
Vi tractum occulta apposita magnetis et arto
Inclusum ferro, sic ut mirabile quiddam
Visa rudi, ac supero non indignissima cultu.

De Mahom. libro 25. Descript. Eccles.

The Al-coran is an Arabic word signifying a book of reading : it was written in Arabic, and translated into the Persian language : a Latin version was given by Petrus Mauricius, abbot of Cluny ; a French one by Du Ryer : the Italian and Spanish versions are praised by Lehmannus. The fables of Mahommed were refuted by Euthymius, Joannes Cantacuzenus, Cardinal Cusanus, Marracius, Ricardus, &c. Vide Le Clerc. in not. ad lib. 6 Grotii de verit. Relig. Christ.

(1) Spond. ad ann. 639, VI.

it the name of the Emperor. And this new declaration he sent to John, the Roman pontiff (1)

The following year, 641, after a reign of thirty-one years, wasted away by sufferings of both mind and body, Heraclius died. His son and successor, Constantine, three months later, followed him to the grave; poisoned, it is generally believed, by his step-mother, Martina. Heracloneas was then raised to the throne by his mother, the assassin: but was, six months after, deposed by the Senate, and condemned to lose his nose. The perfidious Martina had her tongue cut out; and both, in this mutilated condition, were banished. The supreme power was then conferred on Constantius, the son of Constantine.

Shortly after, expired the sovereign pontiff John IV., having sat one year and nine months. He was entombed in the basilick of St. Peter, and succeeded by Theodore, a Greek, on the 25th of November, 641. Oswald, king of Northumbria, was slain in battle by Penda, the Mercian, on the field of Maser. (2) As he fell,

(1) Spond ad ann. 640, II.

(2) Bed. lib. 3, cap. 9. 12. Lingard, vol. I. pag. 98.

he exclaimed in these words, which were long after repeated by the gratitude of the Northumbrians, " Lord have mercy on the souls of my people." To Oswald succeeded Oswio, his brother.

In Belgium, St. Amandus laboured with unwearied zeal, and great success, in the propagation of the gospel. Having reproved king Dagobert for his crimes, he was banished from Gaul, and carried the light of faith into Ghent, Tournai, and Brabant. Animated by the success of his labours, he determined to push his religious conquests into Germany. He past the Danube, and entered the country inhabited by the Selavonians, who had lately burst from the forests of the North. (1)

In the mission of Belgium, the zeal and exertions of St. Omer were not less conspicuous than those of Amandus : his disciples erected several monasteries, of which the principal were those of Vaudrille, Jumiege, and St. Germer. (2)

The patriarch Phyrus, being suspected as an accomplice in the death of Constantine,

(1) Spond. ad. ann. 632, II.

(2) Vit. Audon. ap. Mabill. in annal.

was banished from Constantinople : and Paul, a Monothelite, was appointed in his stead. Pyrrus went into Africa, where he industriously laboured to disseminate his errors. There was, at this epoch, in Africa, a distinguished abbot, from Constantinople, by name Maximus : (1) who had been driven from the East by the ravages of the barbarians. Maximus, with unbending courage, resisted Pyrrus : and, at the solicitation of the bishops and Gregory, the Prefect, challenged the reputed patriarch to a public disputation. It was accepted : the abbot refuted Pyrrus, who abjured his errors ; and going in person to Rome, made a public profession of the faith, was received into the church, permitted to retain the title of patriarch, and munificently supported by the sovereign pontiff : (2) but his conversion was not lasting. (3) Hoping to be restored to the see of Constantinople, he relapsed at Ravenna, returned to the East, and after the death of Paul, re-ascended the patriarchal chair.

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 645. I.

(2) The dispute is extant, together with several writings of Maximus, in the Vatican-library. Vid. Baron. Annal. To. VIII. an. 645.

(3) Theoph. an. 20. Heracl.

Theodore, after having sat seven years and a half, expired, and was buried in St. Peter's. To him, after a vacancy of a month, succeeded Martin, a native of Tuscany, on the first of July, 649. The first care of the new pope, was to convoke a synod in the Lateran Church : (1) the bishops present amounted to an hundred and five : by the sovereign pontiff it was styled a general council. (2) Of this convocation the object was not so much the condemnation of Sergius, Pyrras, and Paul, patriarchs of Constantinople, who had already been condemned, as of a new formulary issued by the emperor under the appellation of *Typus*. The letters from various prelates, occidental as well as oriental, against Monothelism, were read : as also the writings of the sectarians against the Catholic doctrine ; especially the " *Ecthesis*" of Heraclius, and the "*Typus*" of Constantine. The decrees of the five first councils, concerning faith, were then produced ; and likewise the opinions of the ancient fathers : after which twenty canons were drawn up from their writings, and as many anathe-

(1) Conc. Later, Tom. 6, Concil.

(2) Mart. ep. ad. S. Amand.

mas against all who should reject their doctrine. All ancient heresiarchs were condemned; and the errors of Monothelism, with their principal abettors, the writings of whom, particularly the "Ecthesis" and "Typus," were anathematized. (1) The acts of this council were immediately sent to Asia, Gaul, Belgium, and were received by the universal church. (2)

Constans, enraged at the proceedings of the council, resolved to wreak his vengeance on the pope : but fearing to act on the mere grounds of his having condemned the "Typus," he accused him of having vitiated the faith of his ancestors ; plotted against the Roman empire ; spoken against the Virgin Mary, and been uncanonically raised to the pontifical throne.

The Exarch Calliopas was sent with an army to enforce the will of the emperor : entered the Lateran palace ; seized on the person of Martin ; thrust him on board a vessel ; and, though labouring under severe bodily infirmities, ordered him to be conveyed into the East. (3) In the Isle of Naxos, he was detained a year, an exile : at Constantinople, he was

(1) Spond. ad ann. 649, IV. V.

(2) Id. ib. VI.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 650, II.

imprisoned ; stript of the papal insignia ; and then, with a chain around his neck, exhibited through the streets. (1) It was the intention of the emperor to put him to death ; but dissuaded from it by Paul, bishop of Constantinople, on his death-bed, he transmuted the punishment into exile, and sent him to Chersonesa, in the Euxine sea. (2) Of the miseries which he suffered in this wild and barren abode, he himself bears witness in his epistles, written to his familiar friends. (3) Separated from his flock ; deprived of his ensigns and authority, without any hope of return, he was regarded as one among the dead, and a successor was appointed by the Exarch, in the person of Eugenius ; who, however, as long as Martin lived, exercised the office merely of administrator. (4) The apostate Pyrrus, having again invaded the patriarchal chair, died miserably in 652, and was succeeded by Peter, a Monothelite. (5)

The abbot Maximus, who had defended the cause of truth against that impious man, shar-

(1) Mart. ep. 14, 15, 16.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 651, I.

(4) Spondan. 652, II.

(3) Ep. 17, 18.

(5) Niceph. in chron.

ed the fate of Martin ; and, though very old, was forcibly transported to Constantinople : whence, after suffering much, he was exiled into Thrace, together with two disciples by name Anastasii. Being accused of treasonable practices, they were re-called to Constantinople to answer to the charges alleged against them. Every artifice was used to shake their faith : but they proved superior, not only to persuasion and promises, but also to the torture. After being stretched on the rack, they were thrown into prison ; had their tongues cut out ; their hands amputated ; were exposed to the derision of the populace, and again sent into exile ; where they died, in 657. (1)

Constans, not satisfied with the death of these holy men, imbrued his hands in the blood of his own brother Theodosius, after forcing him to accept the order of diaconship. From his brother he had often received the chalice, during the sacred mysteries. After his death, haunted by the apparition of Theodosius, who seemed to present the chalice and say : “ Drink, brother,” he retired into Sicily ;

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 657, II.

and chose Syracuse as the place of his residence. From Sicily he went to Rome, where he was honourably received by Vitalian, the pope ; (Vitalian had succeeded to Eugenius,) and affecting not only to be orthodox, but pious, visited the principal churches. His stay was short : after twelve days, he returned to Syracuse. (1)

In England, the virtuous and amiable Oswin, was sacrificed to the policy of Oswio. Penda was still a formidable adversary : but, by an union, caused in the two families by the marriage of Peada, son of the Mercian, with Alchfleda, daughter of the Northumbrian, the vengeance of Penda was suspended : Peada embraced christianity, and took with him missionaries to the Middle-Angles. (2) His father opposed no obstacle to the conversion of his subjects ; but threatened with his displeasure all, who should not reduce their new principles to practice. (3) He, however, soon summoned his retainers to arms, with the intention to extirpate the Northumbrian nation. Oswio

(1) Id. ad ann. 663, I.

(2) Lingard, vol. I. pag. 100. (3) Bed. 21. Lingard, pag. 103. Bed. 3, 24.

trembled at the fierce resolve ; and despair alone urged him to raise a barrier against the torrent. On the eve of the battle, he vowed, in the event of victory, to consecrate his daughter to the monastic profession. He placed his hopes in the God of armies ; faced the Mercian ; and obtained a signal victory, on the banks of the *Are*. In compliance with his promise, he entrusted his daughter, *Ælfleda*, to the abbess *Hilda*, and settled on her a munificent pension : he also founded a monastery at *Gilling* ; and to atone for the death of *Oswin*, established on the spot on which he was killed, a community of monks, whose charge it was “to pray for the murdered king, and the royal murderer.” (1)

On the plains of *Leeds*, *Penda* had fallen : and *Oswio*, left without a rival, turned his attention towards the affairs of religion. Notwithstanding the uniformity of the faith of the converts to the Catholic doctrine, there were certain points of discipline in which they differed. Of these the principal was, the question concerning the celebration of *Easter*.

(1) Vide *Spondan. ad ann. 668, III* ; and *Doctor Lingard. vol. I. pag. 106.*

This question, which had long disturbed the peace of the church, depended on the equinoctial lunation ; which, according to the Roman astronomy, might begin on the fifth, but, according to the Alexandrian, could not begin before the eighth, of March. In consequence of this diversity, the Latins sometimes celebrated the feast of Easter, an entire lunation before the Greeks. With the view to settle the question, Wilfred made a pilgrimage to Rome ; informed himself of the practice of that church, and communicated the result to Oswio. The king summoned the abettors of both parties to Whitby : Wilfred rested his cause on the authority of the Roman church : the Scottish monks, and especially Colman, their principal champion, on the sanctity of Columban, and the usage of his successors. Oswio terminated the discussion, by declaring in favour of Wilfred : remarking at the same time, that he did so lest he should offend the “ porter of Heaven.”

Wilfred was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of York. Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, having fallen a victim to the

plague, was succeeded by Theodore, a monk of Tarsus, who was honourably received by Egbert, king of Kent, in the year 668. (1) To the zeal of this foreign prelate England was most probably indebted for the celebrated school of Canterbury. In September, 973, under Egfrid king of Kent (the sceptre had been transferred by the death of Oswio and Egbert into his hands) a synod was held at Canterbury, in which were sanctioned ten canons relating to the discipline of the Church. (2) Adeodatus was now pope; having succeeded to Vitalian, in 669.

The emperor Constans was assassinated in the bath at Syracuse in 668, and an Armenian, by name Mezentius, grasped the imperial sceptre: (3) the usurper was, however, soon deposed and put to death by Constantine, the son of Constans. On his return to the

(1) Theodore was sent by pope Vitalian, together with Hadrian, an African abbot, a man well versed in monastic and ecclesiastic matters. Of the immense good they effected, in explaining the Catholic faith; reforming the morals of the people; introducing ecclesiastical singing, &c., Bede writes at length. Bed. lib. 4, cap. 1. et. 2.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 672. II. The canons are enumerated by Bede, lib. 4. cap. 5. Tom. 6. Conc.

(3) Anast. in Vital. Paul. Diac. lib. 5. cap. 11.

East, Constantine assumed the surname of *Pogonitis*, because, says Zonaras, he suffered his beard to grow in Sicily. (1) His two brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius, he associated in the empire. After his departure for the East, the Saracens over-ran and devastated the island; during two years, they continued their predatory excursions by sea, at length, passed into Thrace and marched against Constantinople. (2) From April to September they attempted, by desultory attacks, to force the capital: and, having spent the winter at Cyzicus, made a new attempt in the spring: during seven years they hovered around their prey, but at length were routed, put to sea, and were dispersed by a storm. (3) Some time after, they were compelled to pay the Romans a yearly tribute.

Adeodatus, having occupied the pontifical chair seven years, was succeeded by Donus or Domnus, a Roman. (4)

Constantine, having established peace throughout the empire, directed his attention to the welfare of the Church: Monothelism was still prevalent in the East: of this heresy

(1) Spond. ad ann. 668. II.

(3) Cedr. an. 5. Const. Imp.

(2) Theoph. ad ann. 18.

(4) Spond. ad ann. 676. I.

Theodore, bishop of Constantinople, and Macarius of Antioch, were the stern defenders, and the declared enemies of the Roman pontiffs; whose names, with the exception of Honorius, they had erased from the sacred diptychs. With the hope of reconciling all parties, Constantine wrote to Domnus a letter, directed to the *Universal Bishop*, proposing the convocation of a general council at Constantinople, and requesting him to send his legates, together with a certain number of bishops and monks: directing the Exarch of Italy, Theodore, to provide all necessaries for their journey (1). When the emperor's letter reached Rome, Domnus was dead, and Agathe, a Sicilian monk, promoted to the papal throne. Agathe immediately entered into the views of the emperor, and ordered to be every where convened synods, by which the heresy of Monothelism should be condemned: his commands were instantly complied with in Italy, Gaul and England. Of the synods of Italy, there is extant but one letter from S. Mansuetus, bishop of Milan, to the emperor, of those of Gaul, the

(1) Spond. ad ann. 678. II.

acts have entirely perished; of those of England, a few fragments have been saved from the wreck by Bede. At Rome, was celebrated a general council, at which were present an hundred and twenty bishops, among whom were Felix of Arles, Adeodatus bishop, and Taurinus deacon of Toulouse, sent from the synod in Gaul, and S. Wilfred bishop of York, who, unjustly deposed from his see by Egfred, king of Kent, appealed in person to the Sovereign Pontiff. Of the transactions of this council there is extant nothing but a synodical letter written by Agatho and approved by the whole synod, to Constantine the emperor, and his brothers Heradius and Tiberius, and a private letter of the pope to the same personages.

(1) The main object of this council was to confirm the sound faith, and appoint a legacy to attend the œcumenical synod to be held at Constantinople.

The names of the legates unanimously nominated by the council were John, Abundantius, and another John, bishops; to these were added by the pope Theodore and Gregory, pres-

(1) Ext. act. 4. Sext. Synod.

byters, and John, deacon, and Constantine, sub-deacon of the Roman church. (1) The synod declared, that these legates were sent “not to dispute the subject in question, but to declare what was the tradition of the Church, so that nothing might be added, diminished, or changed.”

The legates immediately departed for Constantinople, where they were honourably received and welcomed by the emperor. Of the bishops who attended the council, the number has been variously represented: according to the Greek annals, there were present two hundred and eighty nine: (2) according to Paul the Deacon and Anastasius, an hundred and fifty: (3) according to Theodore Balsamo, an hundred and seventy one. (4) The place in which they convened was an apartment of the sacred palace called *Trullus*. (5)

The first session opened on the seventh of November, in the year 680: in the middle was placed the book of the gospels: on the left

(1) Spond. ad ann. 680. II. (2) Theoph. et Cedr.

(3) Paul. Diac. de gest. Long. lib. 6. cap. 4.

(4) Anast. in Agath.

(5) *Trullus* signifies the same thing, as *Cuppula* among the Italians.

hand, sat the pope's legates; on the right, George, bishop of Constantinople; Macarius of Antioch, and Peter a presbyter, and legate from the see of Alexandria. From Jerusalem the legate was George, a presbyter, who occupied the place immediately after the legates from the West. On an elevated throne sat Constantine with his officers, to add solemnity to the meeting, and maintain order.

The legates of the apostolical see first addressed the council; complained that four bishops of the see of Constantinople, namely: Sergius, Pyrrus, Paul and Peter, as also Cyrus of Alexandria, and Theodore of Pharan, had introduced into the Church a new heresy concerning the *will* and *operation* of Christ; and begged "that the cause of the error, and origin of the innovation" should be made known.

(1) The emperor then ordered an account to be rendered by the adverse party, to the legates of the Holy See: Macarius, bishop of Antioch, the pillar of the sect, replied, that they had introduced no innovation, but merely taught what had been believed by the sacred synods,

(1) Spond. ad ann. 680. VI.

and the holy fathers : the emperor called upon him to prove his position : wherefore, the six first sessions were taken up in reading the acts of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and the fifth general council : as also the writings of the fathers, on which Macarius grounded his assertions. But these testimonies, after mature examination, were found to have been falsified, mutilated, and disfigured. (1)

On the thirteenth of February, 681, was held the seventh session : in which again were adduced the testimonies of the holy fathers, by the disputants on both sides : and it was ordered that the passages adduced, should be most attentively compared with the originals of the patriarchate.

The eighth session was held on the seventh of March. George, bishop of Constantinople, gave notice that the testimonies adduced by the legates of the Holy See, in favour of the two *wills* and *operations*, were genuine : and proposed that the name of pope Vitalian, which had been erased by Theodore, should be restored to the sacred diptychs. With him all the bishops, with the exception of Macari-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 680. VI.

us, agreed, and embraced the faith of Agatho, upon whom they lavished the highest encomiums. (1) Macarius obstinately persisted in his error; which he swore never to abandon, "though he should be torn to pieces and thrown into the sea:" (2) he was, therefore, anathematized, stript of the pallium, and the patriarchal ensigns.

The ninth session was held on the eighth of March. Sentence of condemnation and deposition was pronounced against Macarius and his disciple Stephen, an abbot. In the three following sessions, was read and approved, the letter of Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, to Sergius of Constantinople; and that of Macarius was condemned.

In the thirteenth session, held on the twenty-eighth of the same month, sentence was pronounced against all the Monothelites; and by name, against Sergius, Pyrrhus, Peter, and Paul, bishops of Constantinople; and Cyrus and Theodore, bishops, the former of Alexandria. the latter of Pharan. (3)

(1) Spond. ad ann. 681. I. (2) Spond. ad ann. 681. II.

(3) Spond. ibid. II. : where he enters into an elaborate, and able, and triumphant defence of Honorius, III, IV, V. VI.

In the fourteenth session, held on the second of April, the writings said to be of Vigilius Pope, and Mennas Patriarch, concerning *one will*, were declared to be supposititious and anathematized : those purporting to be of Athanasius, and adduced by the bishops of Cyprus, concerning the *two wills*, were approved.

The fifteenth session was held on the twenty-sixth of April. In it was tried the cause of a monk of the name of Polychronius, who pretended that he was divinely inspired to defend the *one will* in Christ : and in vindication of his doctrine, declared that, by laying a paper, containing a written profession of his faith, on a corpse, he could raise the dead to life. The fanaticism of the man drew together an immense concourse of people : he had the hardihood and folly to make the experiment : but the dead body remained still, and deaf to the voice of the hypocrite. Anathemas against him rang from amid the populace, and he was deposed from the priesthood.

In the sixteenth session, held the ninth of August, another imposter, and contumacious

heretic, Constantine, a Syrian presbyter, was condemned by the council.

The seventeenth session was held on the eleventh of September. A profession of the orthodox faith was read, and approved by the fathers : in it the five œcumenical councils were confirmed, and their symbols recited ; to which was appended the condemnation of Monothelism, according to the epistle of Agatho, and the synod of Rome. The doctrine of the *wills* and *operations*, in one person, was approved ; and to this, all the bishops present subscribed their names.

Finally, the last session was celebrated on the sixteenth of the same month : acclamations were uttered in honour of the Emperor : the synod again declared, that they followed the doctrine of Agatho, and of the letters of the Roman synod. An imperial edict was issued in corroboration of the sentence of the council : a synodical letter was then despatched to the sovereign pontiff, in order to have the proceedings of the council confirmed and approved by him ; whom they styled the “ uni-

versal pastor of the Church, standing upon the firm rock of faith." (1)

The legates did not leave Constantinople immediately. Before their departure, George, patriarch of that church, died ; and was succeeded by Theodore Syncellus, who had been deposed in consequence of his having been tainted with the errors of the times : but affecting now to be orthodox, he was reinstated in the patriarchal chair. On their arrival at Rome, Agatho was no more : he had expired on the tenth of January, 682, and was buried amongst the ashes of the popes, in the basilick of S. Peter. (2) After a vacancy of more than a year, Leo, the second of the style, was raised to the pontifical throne. (3)

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 681. XI.

(2) Id. 682. I.

(3) Anast. in Leon. He was a man of great piety and learning, and skilled in music.

CHAPTER IX.

EMPERORS.

CONSTANTINE POGONATUS,

CONTINUED.

JUSTINIAN II.

LEONICUS.

TIBERIUS ABSIMARUS.

PHILIPPICUS.

ANASTASIUS II.

THEODOSIUS IV.

POPES.

LEO II.

S. BENEDICT.

JOHN V.

CONON.

S. SERGIUS.

JOHN VI.

JOHN VII.

CONSTANTINE.

S. GREGORY II.

From the condemnation of Monothelism, anno 681, to the origin of Iconoclasm. Anno 723.

BY Leo, the acts of the sixth council were approved. Macarius and his partisans, who had been condemned, and appealed in person to the holy See, were confined in monasteries. Anastasius, a presbyter, and Leonicus, a deacon, having recanted, and condemned their errors, were received back into communion. To

the bishops of Spain, none of whom had attended the council, the acts were sent by the sovereign pontiff: wherefore, under king Ervigius (he had succeeded Wamba, who resigned his dominions, and retired into a monastery) a synod was immediately convened at Toledo, at which assisted seventeen bishops in person, ten by their proxies, and six abbots. By them it was ordained, "that after the four œcumenical councils, viz: of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, this, which is styled the sixth, should be held in the fifth place." (1)

Leo sat but ten months, and was succeeded by S. Benedict II., a Roman distinguished for his piety, learning, and virtues, who occupied the pontifical chair only eight months. John V., by birth a Syrian, a man of unblemished morals, and considerable erudition, was consecrated pope. His reign lasted but a year; after which Conon, a Thracian by birth, and a presbyter of the Roman Church, was unanimously chosen in his place.

(1) By this they did not mean to reject the fifth council; but since in it there was question only of *persons*, not of *faith*, they gave the one of which we are treating, the preference.

In Ireland, the monastic discipline was flourishing in full bloom. Among the many apostles sent from that island of saints to foreign nations, the name of S. Kilian, the apostle of Franconia, stands conspicuous. He was born of a noble family, learned and adorned with eminent virtues. (1) From Conon he received the episcopal consecration, and the commission to preach the gospel to the pagans. He accordingly bent his way into that province of Germany called Franconia, converted the whole nation, together with Gosbert, the duke, to the christian faith, and fixed his see at Wirtzburg. (2) Gosbert, before his conversion, had married Geila, the widow of his brother. Kilian made it a condition of his baptism to abandon her. To avenge her pride and her passion, when the duke was absent at war, she bribed an assassin to put to death the saint, together with his companions, Colnan and Totnan (3) For some time their death was kept a secret : when it transpired, the murderer acknowledged his crime, and died miserably.

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 686. IV.

(2) Ap. Sur. 8. Jul. Act. S. Bened. Tom. 2. pag. 991.

(3) Martyrol. Rom.

Geila met the same fate. The duke himself was killed, and his children were expelled from the province. (1)

Among the Saxons and Frieslanders, there were tribes to whom the gospel had never been preached ; and others who had relapsed into idolatry. Prompted by the zeal of Ecbert, an Englishman, who had been educated in the monasteries of Ireland, eleven priests and one deacon resolved to convert the former, and reclaim the latter. (2) Accordingly they quitted England, and passed into France ; where they were welcomed by Pepin De Herstal, mayor of the palace, who had lately made the conquest of that part of Friesland which stretches between the Rhine and the Meuse. He issued an edict in their favour, and forbade any molestation to be offered them in their missionary labours. Of these apostles, the most distinguished were Swibert and Willibrord : the latter went in person to Rome, and obtained from Sergius (he had succeeded Conon in 687) the commission to preach, and the apostolic benediction. After labouring for some years with

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 689. II.

(2) Bed. lib. 5. cap. 10. et seqq. Spondan. ad ann. 690. I.

unwearied zeal for the conversion of these people, Swibert was sent back to England to receive the episcopal consecration; which was conferred on him by S. Wilfred. His exertions, sufferings, virtues, and miracles, are minutely described by one of his companions, by name Marcellinus. (1) Willibrord was likewise chosen bishop: returned to Rome, and was consecrated archbishop of Friesland. (2)

The same year in which these missionaries left England, died, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, the celebrated Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury; after having governed that church twenty years. His name has been enrolled on the catalogue of the Saints. (3) •

The imperial crown was now on the temples of Justinian II., son of Constantine Pogonatus, who had expired, after a reign of seventeen years, in 682. Justinian, though but a boy, (he was in his seventeenth year) evinced in the beginning of his reign, the wisdom of a mature and disciplined mind: and not only

(1) In act. S. Swib. ap. Sur. I. Mart.

(2) Bed. de gest. Angl. lib. 5. cap. 12. Marcell. in Swib. ap. Sur. I. Mart. Spondan. ad ann. 695. I. 696. I.

(3) Spond. ad ann. 690. II. Bed. lib. 5. cap. 8.

kept the barbarians at bay, but through his brave general, Leontius, added to the empire Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Hircania, and Media. (1) But it was not long before it became manifest that his faith was not sound. He, however, sought to deserve well of the church, by diminishing the taxes of her patrimonial estates in Sicily and Abruzzo. (2) In the eighth year of his reign, 692, was convened at Constantinople, a synod; in which, under the assumed appellation of the sixth council, were issued an hundred and three canons. This convention was styled by our forefathers "*the erratic synod*," because it was convoked without authority; and enacted decrees contrary to the traditions of the church, the doctrine of the fathers, and the canons of councils. (3) By the emperor, the acts of this synod were furthered to Rome for the pontifical confirmation: but Sergius, who stood ready to die rather than approve them, ordered them to be rejected. Anastasius then deputed to Rome

(1) Cedr. in Just. an. I.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 686. II.

(3) Bed. de sext. æt. et alii. vide Baron. annal. To. VIII. hoc ann. Bellarm. contr. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 27. Turrian. in lib. de Sext. Syn. Can. de loc. theol. cap. ult. ad arg. 6.

Zachary, with instructions to force the pope to Constantinople. But he was driven with ignominy from the city, and Sergius was liberated from his snare. (1)

Anastasius had it not in his power to revenge the cause of his ambassador : he had degenerated from the good qualities for which the commencement of his reign was noted. His cruelty towards his subjects, especially the citizens of Constantinople, and the contempt he evinced of sacred things, aroused the spirit of the valiant Leontius, who moved the people to rebel, and was proclaimed emperor. By his orders, Justinian was seized, and having his nose amputated, was exiled into Chersonesa. (2)

But the fortune of Leontius now forsook him. The Saracens poured into Africa : and though at first they were routed by John the patrician, an experienced and gallant general, they rallied, and dispersed the Roman forces. The army, ashamed of their defeat, and fearing to return to Constantinople, mutinied, and

(1) Paul. Diac. lib. 6. de gest. Long. cap. II. Bed. de Sext. æt. in Just. Min.

(2) He was afterwards styled *Περικτρου*.

proclaimed emperor, Absimarus; whom they called Tiberius. Under his auspices, they marched to the capital, seized on Leontius, cut off his nose, and shut him up in a monastery of Dalmatia. (1)

Meanwhile Justinian was burning with the desire of revenge. To further his views, he married the sister of the king of the Lazi; and, in concert with his brother-in-law, began to meditate his escape from exile. This, through Trebellius, king of the Bulgarians, he effected, and set sail for Constantinople. On his voyage, he was overtaken by a menacing tempest. Advised by his friends to make his peace with Heaven, by forgiving his enemies, "If I spare one of them," he replied, "may I be buried in this storm." (2) He secretly made his entrance into Constantinople: as soon as his return was made known, all declared in his favour. Tiberius fled with his brother Heradius and his court: they were overtaken: the noblemen were instantly put to death. Tiberius and Leontius, bound with chains, were led in triumph through the

(1) Ann. Theoph. ac. Cedr. Spond. ad ann. 696. II

(2) Id. ad ann. 702. I.

streets, and then trampled to the ground by the implacable Anastasius; the people, meanwhile, exclaiming, "thou hast walked upon the asp and basilisk, and hast trampled upon the lion and the dragon." (1) After which they were killed. Of the citizens and soldiers, he put a multitude to death: many were sewed up in sacks, and drowned in the sea: others were beheaded as they lay down to dinner. Callinicius, patriarch of Constantinople, was deprived of his eyes: and Cyrus, a monk, raised to the chair. (2) This revolution occurred under the pontificate of John VI., who had succeeded Sergius, in the year 700. To John VI. succeeded John VII., (they were both Greeks) in March, 705. To him, Justinian sent a magnificent embassy, praying him to examine the canons enacted in the council held under Sergius, styled the sixth council: and what he should find conformable to the Catholic faith, to approve: what contrary, to reject. Though this request might appear reasonable, yet, as it was unworthy the majesty of the holy See to approve of any item of

(1) Pp. 90.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 703. I.

an illegitimate synod, John refused to confirm ; but did not, however, condemn the canons of that convention. He sat but two years ; and was succeeded by Sissinnias, a Syrian, who wore the tiara but twenty days, died suddenly, and was interred in the basilick of S. Peter. After a vacancy of a month, Constantine, likewise a Syrian, was created pope, in 708. (1)

The throne of Northumbria presented to the world, at this period, an example of heroic piety, in the person of king Cœared : as soon as his son Ceolred was of an age to reign, Cœared resigned his sceptre, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and received the monastic habit from the hands of the sovereign pontiff. (2) Offa, the son of the king of Essex, was the companion of his journey, and the imitator of his example. (3)

Justinian, desirous to put an end, at length, to the controversy touching the council *in trullo*, invited the pope to Constantinople : although there was much reason to doubt the sincerity of the emperor, and the fate of Mar-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 707. I. 708. I.

(2) Vide Lingard. vol. I. pag. 118.

(3) Chron. Sax. pag. 50. 51. ep. S. Bonif. ap. Spelm. pag. 225.

tin was still fresh in the memory of the Romans, Constantine determined to risk his life for the welfare of the church; and accordingly sailed for the East, in 709. On his arrival at Constantinople, he was honourably and solemnly received by Tiberius, the emperor's son; who, accompanied by the patriarch Cyrus, and the Senate, came out to welcome him. (1) Justinian met him at Nicomedia, prostrated himself with the crown on his head, and kissed his feet; after which they embraced. The following Sunday, he received communion from the hands of the pope, at a solemn mass; and after confirming the privileges of the Roman Church, they parted. Constantine arrived at his metropolis on the twenty-fourth of October, 711.

Meanwhile Justinian was slain, and Bardanes proclaimed emperor, under the name of Philippicus. The head of the unfortunate emperor was carried in triumph through the city, and sent to Rome. Tiberius, his son, was strangled by Manrus, the patrician, in the church of the Virgin Mary, whither he had fled for protection. (2)

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 709. II. 710. I. II. III.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 711. II. III. IV.

Philippicus was a man of depraved morals, and the abettor of Monothelitism : his chief study was how to revive and propagate that heresy. The first measure which naturally suggested itself, was to do away the sixth synod, by which it had been condemned; and to this he was urged by the prediction of a degenerate monk ; that, by so doing, he should enjoy a long and prosperous reign. Cyrus, the patriarch, he immediately deposed; and appointed in his stead, a bad monk of the name of John. He then convoked a numerous assembly of oriental bishops, condemned the sixth synod, and confirmed the heresy of the Monothelites, concerning the "one will and operation." (1) But the usurper soon met the fate which he deserved. After a sumptuous banquet given to the most noble citizens on the eve of pentecost, as he was reposing, he was seized, deprived of his sight, and then sent into exile. The following day, in a general meeting of the people, Artemius, the secretary of Philippicus, was crowned, under the title of Anastasius the Second. He

(1) Annal. Theoph. et Cedr.

immediately made a written profession of the orthodox faith, which he sent to Rome through Scholasticus, a patrician. The sovereign pontiff reciprocated the embassy, in the person of Michael, cardinal of the Roman Church.

(1) John, who had been intruded into the patriarchal chair, was deposed; and Germanus, bishop of Cyzicus, a prelate of great learning and piety, appointed in his room. (2)

During the reign of Anastasius II., the Saracens became masters of the fertile regions of Spain. Roderic was, now, wielding the sceptre of that kingdom. To avenge the cause of his father, who had been deprived of his eyes by Witizas, he expelled the two sons of that king, Furmalus and Erpulio, from Spain. The exiles repaired to Julian, count of that province which was occupied by the Goths, the friend of their father, and concerted measures to revenge themselves on Roderic, through the instrumentality of the Saracens. Julian listened to their wrongs: stimulated the Franks to invade Narbonese Gaul, which was subject to the Goths; and pretend-

(1) Anast. in Constant.

(2) Theoph. an. 13. Leon. Imp.

ing to be the friend of Roderic, advised him to send all his forces into Gaul and Africa, to oppose the advances of the Franks and Saracens. (1) To this conspiracy, Oppa, (the son of Witizas,) archbishop of Toledo, lent his influence and his aid.

These preliminaries being made, Ulit, the most powerful of the Saracen kings, sent Tariffus Strabo, with an army of twenty-five thousand chosen men, into Spain; who, meeting with no resistance, quietly took possession of many cities. Roderic, awakened from his deception by the discovery of the plot, collected an army, rushed against the barbarians, fought desperately, and killed many thousands. At the same time, Muza, commander-in-chief of the African forces, at the head of a numberless multitude of infantry and cavalry, hurried into Spain, slew Roderic, and became master of the whole kingdom, in the year 718. (2) In the East, too, the Saracens were spreading devastation. To oppose their progress, Anastasius equipped a formidable fleet: at Rhodes the troops mutinied, and forced the

(1) Spondan, ad ann. 713. IV.

(2) Id. ibid. V.

imperial crown on the head of an obscure individual, by name Theodosius. The intruder took Constantinople, and compelled Anastasius to retire into a monastery. (1)

In Spain, the Asturians took shelter from the sword of the barbarians, amid their native mountains, and formed a little kingdom; at the head of which, they appointed Pelagius, a descendant of their ancient kings. But the jealousy of the Saracens was alive to their proceedings. Oppa, archbishop of Toledo, was sent, apparently as an ambassador, in reality as a spy, to reconnoitre their situation, and seduce them from their attempt. He was soon followed by a powerful army: the faithful intrenched themselves in a cave; but animated by a supernatural courage, they rushed on the enemy, laid twenty thousand men dead on the ground, put the rest to flight, and took Oppa prisoner. (2) In gratitude to the Virgin Mary, by whose assistance it was supposed that this extraordinary victory was gained, the cavern was dedicated to her under the name of Santa Maria de Couadonga. (3)

(1) Theoph. et alii. Theodosius professed and defended the orthodox faith.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 718. III.

(3) Tudens. in Chron. Roder. lib. 4. cap. 2.

In the year 719, there came to Rome an English monk and presbyter, by name Boniface; praying the pope, Gregory II, (he had succeeded Constantine in the year 714) for the commission to preach the gospel to the pagans. (1) From the hands of the pontiff, he received the episcopal consecration, and bent his way to the country beyond the Rhine: carried the faith into Thuringia; (2) and, after the death of king Radbod, the mortal enemy of the christian name, passed into Friesland. For the conversion of that ferocious chieftain, every exertion had been made by S. Ulfrann, bishop of Sens. Once, his stout heart was subdued by the miracles of that holy man, and he demanded baptism. (3) But when he approached the font, "Bishop," he said, "think you that the greater number of the chiefs and nobles of my kingdom are in the region of bliss, or of misery?" "In the region of misery," he replied. Radbod instantly leaped from the font, exclaiming, "I would rather be in Hell, with my brave ancestors, than in paradise with cowards." (4)

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 719. I.

(2) Ap. Sur. 5 Jan.

(3) Ap. Sur. 20 Mart.

(4) Jonas. vide Spond. ad ann.

To the inhabitants of Friesland, Boniface preached in vain: he quitted them, and confined his zeal to Germany; of which he has merited the title of apostle (1)

Bavaria, about this same period, was the theatre of the labours of S. Corbinianus, who, after spending a long time in solitude, was, at the request of Theodo, duke of the Bavarians, consecrated bishop, by the sovereign pontiff.

(2) The light of the gospel had been carried to that people, in 580, by Rupert, bishop of Worms. (3) By him, Theodo had been converted: he fixed his See at Salzburg, where he built a magnificent church, dedicated to S. Peter; and founded a monastery, of which Erentruda, his sister, was the first abbess. (4)

The church of Great Britain was now adorned by the virtues and the learning of venerable Bede. That celebrated man was born at Sunderland; and, at the age of sixteen, intrusted to the monastery of Jarrow, on the Tyne. (5) In that sacred retreat, he spent

(1) Vide Camden. et act. S. Bened. To. 3.

(2) Paul. Diac. lib. 6. cap. 40.

(3) Act. S. Bened. To. 3.

(4) Valent. annal. Baior. lib. 3, Spond. ad ann. 580. IV.

(5) Lingard. pag. 115. vol. I.

sixty-two years ; devoting his time to study, the meditation of the scriptures, and the regular conventual exercises : such as singing the office, and manual labour. He made himself acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages, the art of versification, music, and the deeper sciences. He wrote many works : of which his "Ecclesiastical History of the Angels" is the most valuable. In it he describes the state of that church ; the kings who presided over the provinces ; the bishops over the churches. To it he afterwards added an appendix of his life and writings, down to the year 731 ; being then fifty-nine years old. (1) At the solicitation of bishop Tacuin, he wrote a commentary on the acts of the apostles : his explanation of the epistle of S. John, and of the apocalypse, he dedicated to Hubert, abbot of Jarrow. His commentaries on the gospel of S. Mark, the epistles of S. Paul ; all the canonical epistles, and most of the sacred writings, he composed at the request of the priest Northelme, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury. These

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 731. III.

works abound with quotations from the holy fathers, especially from S. Augustine, and are stored with erudition. Besides these, he composed a martyrology; the lives of several saints, and a treatise on the equinox. He died, according to Spondanus, in 731. (1) To his name has been associated the epithet of VENERABLE. By Helduin, a contemporary author, he is styled "the holy priest:" by Albinus Flaccus, "a great priest and doctor." (2)

Meanwhile the Saracens had spread themselves through Gaul, and taken possession of several important places: but they found a brave and successful opponent, in the person of Charles; who, after the death of his father Pepin, was made mayor of the palace. (3) He repulsed, and entirely routed, the barbarous invaders; and, on account of his prowess and warlike disposition, acquired the surname of "Martel." By this defeat, the force and spirit

(1) Dr. Lingard places his death in 733: Marianus Scotus, in 729: Sigebert, in 733; on whose authority, I presume, Doctor Lingard relies. The precise date, I believe, cannot be ascertained: "sub judice lis est."

(2) Spond. ad ann. 731. IV. Amalarius, a contemporary, styles him *Dominum Bedam*: Usuard, simply *Bedam*. Id. ubi supr.

(3) Isid. pac. Roder. Arab. cap. 11.

of the Saracens were broken : the Asturians resumed courage, and appointed king of Spain, Alphonsus, son of Pelagius ; who, in 783, assumed the reins of Government. Being the descendant of the illustrious Reccaredus, who was once hailed in a council of bishops, by the name of the *Catholic king*, Alphonsus retained the epithet CATHOLIC, which has since been transmitted to the kings of Spain. (1) Alphonsus rescued many cities from the Saracens, expelled them from Gallæcia, and evinced a peculiar zeal for the propagation of the true faith.

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 738. II.

CHAPTER X.

EMPERORS.

LEO, THE ISAURIAN.

CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS.

POPES.

S. GREGORY II.

GREGORY III.

ZACHARY.

STEPHEN II.

STEPHEN III.

S. PAUL I.

STEPHEN IV.

*From the origin of Iconoclasm, anno 723, to
the beginning of the reign of Charlemagne.
Anno 768.*

LEO, the Isaurian, after the death of Anastasius, mounted the imperial throne, in 717, was crowned by the patriarch Germanus, swore to maintain and defend the orthodox faith, sent his profession to pope Gregory II., and obtained from him the "Catholic communion." (1) In the seventh year of his

(1) Spond. ad ann. 717, l. III.

reign, an impostor from Lasdicaa, by name Sarantapechys, promised Gizidus, chief of the Saracens, a long and prosperous reign, provided he should cause to be removed from the churches of the christians, all the images of the saints. Gizidus immediately issued an edict, commanding all pictures and images, of whatever description, to be destroyed: and from this circumstance the heresy of Iconoclasm derived its origin. (1) But eight months after, he died.

Leo, who had hitherto worn the appearances of orthodoxy, declared, on a sudden, in favour of the new heresy: and, at the solicitation of Beser, an apostate christian, issued an edict against the *idolatry* of venerating images. (2) The citizens reclaimed, and a tumult was excited: he replied, that it was not his intention to do away images altogether, but merely to have them placed in a higher situation, that they might not be subject to profanation. The patriarch Germanus assumed a firm attitude in opposition to the emperor's design. Leo, on the other hand, left no arti-

(1) Spond. ad ann. 723. II.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 726. I. Theoph. an. 8. Leon.

flie untried to seduce him from his duty. But the fury of the fanatical emperor soon burst forth : against the *venerators* of images he declared an open war ; condemned to death several of the people ; and to exile and confiscation, some of the nobility. (1) Constantine Manasses adds, that having in vain attempted to gain over the Librarians, (whose authority was so great that nothing was done without their advice,) in the paroxysm of his rage, he set fire to the libraries, and consumed them, together with three hundred thousand volumes. (2)

The first image that fell a victim to the fanaticism of the Isaurian, was an ancient painting, representing the crucifixion of Christ ; said to have been executed by the command of Constantine the Great. In the attempt to pull it down, the ladder was dragged away by the zeal of some indignant women, and the officer was hurled precipitately to the ground. (3)

(1) Spond. ad ann. 726. V.

(2) Spond. ubi. supr. Zonaras, Cedrenus, Glicas, and others, confirm the fact related by Constantine.

(3) Biblioth, pp. vit. S. Steph. pag. 415. To. 7.

Of these proceedings of Leo, the patriarch did not fail to give a minute account to the sovereign pontiff: (1) who immediately convened a synod at Rome, and corroborated, by an express edict, the ancient usage of venerating images. In answer to the patriarch's letter, "The church," he writes, "thinks with you: and who would accuse *her* of idolatry? since *that* only is idolatry which offers adoration to the fantastic images of things that have no existence, and which bends before them as before so many Gods."

The conduct of the pope so exasperated the emperor, that he offered a reward to any one who should despatch him: the Romans, however, remained true to their pontiff; and defied the attempts of the Exarch, who threatened them with extermination. (2) The Greeks accused the pope of urging the Italians to rebel: but so far from any such attempt, when Luitprand, king of the Lombards, determined to avenge the cause of religion, had already seized on Ravenna, Gregory induced the Venetians and others, to oppose the Lombard,

(1) Conc. Wic. II. act. 4. Ep. Greg. II.

(2) Anast. in Greg. II.

and restore Ravenna to the Exarch. (1) This roused the indignation of Luitprand: to have satisfaction, he marched with hostile views, towards Rome, forced his way through the armies of the dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum, and approached the metropolis. Gregory was not alarmed: resolved to rescue his people, or die in the attempt, he went out to meet him: the fierce invader was subdued by the presence, and fell prostrate at the feet, of the holy pontiff. In the basilick of S. Peter, he afterwards hung his sword, mantle, and belt; together with a golden crown and crucifix, and having prayed before the altar, promised to be reconciled with the Exarch.

The fury of Leo was not, in the least, assuaged by the fidelity of the pope. In a letter to his benefactor, he menaces him with the fate of Martin; and added, that he should send to Rome an officer, to destroy the bronze statue of S. Peter, the apostle. In reply, Gregory wrote a dogmatical letter, which greatly contributed to his praise, even among the Greeks; (2) and sent legates to the emperor,

(1) Paul. Diac. lib. 6. cap. 48. Anast. in Greg. sec.

(2) This letter is cited in Greek and Latin, by Baronius, in his annals, To. IX. 726.

with the hope of recalling him from his error. But, contrary to the laws of nations, they were immediately thrust into prison, condemned to exile, and then to death.

Gregory, finding that it was in vain to expostulate with a barbarian, and that his life was in imminent danger, looked to Gaul for security, amid the disasters of the times. To the brave Martel he sent the keys of S. Peter, and the offer of the Roman consulship; conjuring him, in case of necessity, to defend the church. The resource was not in vain: as soon as it was known in the East, that the Franks had confederated with the pope, the persecution against him ceased. (1)

Providence, ever watchful over the interests of his church, raised up, at this period, a great doctor, and defender of the truth, in the person of S. John Damascenus, surnamed, on account of his eloquence and sanctity, *Chrysorroas*. His most celebrated works, on the subject of holy images, were written immediately after the edict of Leo: and merited for him, not only the esteem and admiration of the

(1) Spond. 726. X.

faithful, but the hatred and persecution of the Isaurian. The better to devote his attention to study and prayer, he distributed his goods among the poor, and retired into the deserts of Syria, where he embraced the monastic institute. The patriarch Germanus, continuing inflexible in defence of the true doctrine, was forcibly deposed, and sent into exile. A presbyter, by name Anastasius, an Iconiclast, was appointed in his place, and excommunicated by the pope. (1) The emperor, too, having been duly warned, and persisting in his errors, was declared an heretic, and anathematized. This was the last act of the second Gregory, in defence of the church: the following year, 731, he died, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter. He was, five days after, succeeded by Gregory, the third of the style, by birth a Syrian; of whose learning, piety, zeal, and sanctity of manners, Anastasius makes mention. (2) His first care, after his elevation, was to check the new heresy. To this end, he sent to the emperor a legate, whose name was Gregory; with letters of a menacing descrip-

(1) Anast. in Greg. II. (2) Vide Spond. ad ann. 731. I.

tion : but the legate, on his arrival, seeing the rage of Leo, and the cruelty with which he visited the courage of many bishops, patri- cians, and others, without daring to deliver the letters, returned to Rome. (1) For his pu- sillanimity, he would have been deposed in a synod convened for the purpose, had not the pope mitigated the severity of the fathers, un- der the condition that he should hasten back to Constantinople, and deliver the letters. With this Gregory complied ; and deserved to be exiled by the emperor. (2)

On receiving intelligence of this circum- stance, the sovereign pontiff convened a coun- cil in S. Peter's, of ninety-three bishops, the Roman clergy, nobles, and people, to confirm the traditions of the church, regarding the veneration of images. He issued a decree, called *constitutivum*, by which he excommu- nicated all who should oppose them. It was determined that commonitorial letters should again be sent to the emperor ; and Anastasius adds, that Constantine was appointed the bearer of them, and shared the fate of Gre-

(1) Spondan. ubi. supr. II.

(2) Anast. in Greg. III.

gory. (1) Of the faithful, many others were treated with equal cruelty, and some were put to death in the most barbarous manner. (2)

To these religious calamities, was added another, of a civil character. Luitprand, king of the Lombards, laid siege to Rome, because the pope refused to deliver up Thrasamund, duke of Spoleto, who had taken refuge within the walls of the metropolis, from the power of the Lombard. Luitprand spread devastation around, as appears from the pathetic appeal of the pope to Charles Martel; to whom he deputed Anastasius, a bishop, and Sergius, a presbyter, with the keys of S. Peter. "We are plunged," he writes to his most christian son, "in deep affliction and distress, by the rapacity and ambition of Luitprand, king of the Lombards, and his nephew, Hildebrand: they have ravaged our lands, insult us, and defy even the valiant Franks. Though S

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 732. II.

(2) Among these was one Gregory, a monk, an hundred years old: whose skin being torn off his head, he was burnt on a pile of sacred images: his beard was filled with pitch: he was dragged through the city, strangled, and his body given to the dogs. In these sufferings, he had two companions, Hyppatius; a bishop, and Andrew, a presbyter.

Peter, the prince of the apostles, could triumph, without your assistance, over his implacable enemies, still, he wishes to prove the piety of his children : do not become guilty of the crime of refusing to listen to our sorrows."

(1)

Martel had, on a former occasion, attested his zeal for the holy See : he now was prevented, by motives of policy, from complying with the demands of Gregory. Luitprand was a chieftain whom thirty years of military experience, extraordinary talents, tried valour, and orthodox faith, rendered it unsafe to provoke. He, however, returned the embassy ; with letters, exposing the reasons which deterred him from commencing hostilities against a powerful king. Martel survived this event but a short time : he died in November, 741, and was entombed in the basilick of S. Denis, near Paris. (2) He left two sons, Carloman

(1) Ext. ap. Baron. Annal. To. IX. 740. et. ap. Centuriatores, To. VIII. cap. 10.

(2) Aimoin. lib. 4. cap. 57. Spondan. 741. VII. The tale of the vision of S. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans, who is said to have seen Martel in Hell, is as fabulous as it is shocking : for Eucherius died ten, or as Molanus writes, fourteen, years before him. Vide Spond. ad ann. 741. VII. et VIII.

and Pipin : the former succeeded in the administration of the kingdom, the latter as mayor of the palace.

In the year 741, after a reign of twenty-four years, the impious emperor, Leo, was taken from this world : (1) and was succeeded by his son Constantine, surnamed Copronymus : a prince, says Theophanes, of a ferocious and tyrannical disposition, addicted to the art magic ; and from his earliest youth, given to debauchery and luxury. After the example of his father, he issued an edict against the veneration of images ; but before it was enforced, there rose up against him a rival, by whose opposition he was prevented from carrying his designs into execution. This was Artabasdu, the husband of his sister. Copronymus being absent from Constantinople, on an expedition against the Arabs, Artabasdu hastened to the capital, and through the prefect of the city, Theodore, reported that he was dead. Artabasdu was immediately proclaimed emperor : and the sons of Copronymus were shorn and confined in prison. The

(1) Theoph. Spond. 741. I.

patriarch, Anastasius, who had hitherto abetted the system of Iconoclasm, now, through a time-serving policy, affected to detest it; and swore, by the wood of the holy cross, that he had heard Copronymus affirm, that the son of Mary was a mere man, and by no means the Son of God. (1) A short time after, Copronymus made his appearance in the metropolis; and commanded the usurper and patriarch to be deprived of their eyes. Anastasius, however, by retracting what he had done, was permitted to continue in the patriarchal chair.

Meanwhile, the cause of religion was ably supported in Germany and England. Of the former, Boniface was created bishop; and with the permission of the holy See, celebrated his first synod, on the banks of the Danube: by which, unity in ecclesiastical discipline, and a perfect subjection to the sovereign pontiff, were established. (2) In England, Ina, king of Wessex, descended from the throne of his fathers, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and em-

(1) Theoph. an. Const. I. Spondan. ad ann. 741. II.

(2) This appears from the epistle of Boniface to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury: it is quoted by Baronius, annal. To. IX., and by the Centuriators, To. VIII. cap. 10.

braced the monastic institute. His bounty all the celebrated monasteries in the kingdom had experienced; and by his munificence the abbey of Glastonbury was founded and endowed. (1) His queen, Edilburga, with equal heroism, trampled on the purple, and assumed the monastic habit.

Gregory III., after a pontificate of ten years, expired in 741, and was buried in the cemetery of S. Peter. After a vacancy of only eight days, Zachary, a Greek, a prelate at once mild, benevolent, and pious, was chosen to fill the chair. In the second year of his pontificate, he received letters from S. Boniface, praying him to confirm the acts of a synod held in Germany, under the auspices of Carloman; in which were condemned two notorious impostors, Aldebert, a Frank, and Clement, a Scotsman. The former erected crosses and oratories in the open fields; affected to penetrate the secrets of hearts, and distributed his hair to be honoured as a relic. He held in his possession a letter, which he

(1) Lingard. vol. I. pag. 135. Vide Spondan. ad ana. 740. III.

said was written by the hands of Christ himself, and had fallen from Heaven : with the angels, he affirmed, he was familiar, and knew them by name. Clement preached, that Christ had redeemed from Hell, all the damned ; as well believers as infidels : and asserted many blasphemies concerning the doctrine of predestination. Of these two men, the morals were as corrupt, as their reveries were absurd : the former was a known libertine : the latter the adulterous father of two children.

(1)

Though honoured with the title, and adorned with the pallium, of an archbishop, Boniface, as yet, had no fixed See, or metropolitcal church. In the year 745, Geruileo being deposed from the See of Mentz, Boniface was appointed in his stead : and Mentz was raised, with the approbation of the pope, into the metropolis of Germany.

Carloman presented to the world, at this period, an heroic example of piety, by abdi-

(1) Spond. ad ann. 743. II. Zachary being consulted on the validity, or invalidity, of baptism, conferred by an ignorant Bazarian presbyter, in these words : *Baptizo te in nomine Patria et filia et spirita sancta*, declared it valid.

cating his dominions, and embracing the monastic life. Resigning his sceptre to his brother Pipin, he set out for Rome; where it was his intention to spend the remainder of his days. (1) He was followed by several of his faithful friends; received, from the hands of the pope, the monastic habit, and betook himself into the solitude of Mount Soracte, where he founded a monastery in honour of S. Sylvester, who had there concealed himself during the persecutions: but seeing that his retirement was too frequently encroached upon, by the nobility of Gaul, who visited Rome, he resolved to bury himself in the monastery of S. Bernard, on Mount Cassino; where he performed, with a cheerfulness and peace to which he was a stranger on the throne, the most menial and humiliating offices: such as serving in the kitchen, labouring in the garden, and tending the flocks. (2)

The example of Carloman was afterwards followed by Bachis, king of Lombardy. At

(1) Spond. ad ann. 747. vit. S. Bonif. lib. I. cap. 36. Ap. Sur. 5 Jun.

(2) Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag. vit. Bonif. lib. I. cap. 36. Strab. vit. Carolom. ap. Sur. 16.

the death of Luitprand, (who, notwithstanding his conduct towards the holy See, is praised for his faith, piety, justice, chastity, and other virtues,) Hildebrand, his son, assumed the government of the kingdom: but he had not reigned seven months, before he was deposed by his subjects; and Rachis, then duke of Frioul, was raised to the throne of Lombardy. From that eminence he descended, of his own free choice, resigned his crown to his brother Aistulph, and retired, with Carloman, to Mount Cassino. (1)

The abdication of Carloman left Pipin the sole monarch of France. He was crowned at Soissons, by S. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, in 752. His wife, Bertrada, was proclaimed queen: Helderic, the last of the Morovingian kings, was confined in a monastery. To this revolution, the second French dynasty owes its origin. Shortly after, the sovereign pontiff, Zachary, having sat ten years, expired; and was consigned to the tomb, in the basilick of S. Peter. He was succeeded by Stephen II., who died, suddenly, on the fourth day after his

(1) Chron. Cass. lib. I. cap. 18.

appointment. (1) To him succeeded a third Stephen, a Roman, who is extolled for his charity and mercy towards the poor and infirm. (2)

The power of the Lombards was daily increasing in Italy. Aistulph seized on Ravenna, the seat of the Exarch : Rutychius, who then held that character, fled to Constantinople ; and from this period, the Exarchate dates its fall. From Ravenna he marched to the gates of Rome, with the design to destroy that metropolis of the christian world. Stephen called upon the emperor to defend his rights : but finding that he appealed in vain to man, he had recourse to the God of nations : and by public prayers, litanies, and processions, strove to avert the impending danger. He wrote to Pipin, king of the Franks, conjuring him to interpose at this critical juncture. The monarch returned an answer through Rodigano, bishop of Metz, and the duke Anthcaire, inviting him to pass into the French dominions. The invitation was made known to the Lombard, who reluctantly permitted him to accom-

(1) Anast. cit. a Bar. vid. Spond. ad ann. 752. IV.

(2) Id. IV.

pany the ambassadors to France. By Pipin he was received with every token of respect and veneration : the monarch dismounted from his steed ; and, with his queen, children, and lords, prostrated himself to the ground. The monastery of S. Denis was assigned him as his place of residence. (1)

Aistulph saw, with alarm, the proceedings of Pipin ; and compelled Carloman to leave his solitude, and negotiate in France for peace, with his illustrious brother : the royal monk, in obedience to his abbot, appeared at Querci, in the assembly of the French nobles. But Pipin, instead of hearkening to his instructions, detained him in France, in a monastery, where he died soon after. (2) Aistulph was then warned to return to the empire and the church, the places which he had taken

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 754. I. By the French authors it is said, that Pipin received the regal unction from Stephen : the Latin disagree with them, and assert that the unction was performed, as I have related, by S. Boniface : that his children were anointed by the pope, I am induced to believe from the testimony of Louis, the son of Charlemagne, in his letter to Hildwin. It appears, however, certain, from the ancient monuments of France, that the years of Pipin's reign, are computed from that in which Stephen went to Paris, viz : 754. Lib. 2. rer. S. Othmar, cap. 5. ap. Sur. 16. nov. ex. Walfrido. et Isone. Monach.

(2) Act. S. Bened. To. 4.

from them. The proud Lombard disdained the menace: wherefore Pipin, at the head of his brave army, marched up the Alps, and in the defiles, met, attacked, and defeated, Aistulph. The pope conjured the victor to spare the effusion of blood, and capitulate with the Lombard: Aistulph swore to surrender Ravenna, and all other places on which he had seized. Pipin was satisfied, took hostages as a pledge of his faithful compliance with his oath, and returned to his dominions: but the Lombard proved treacherous: he not only did not restore the places taken, but again laid siege to Rome. The reader may imagine the consternation of the pope. In a letter, the most curious specimen recorded in history, he again appeals, and makes the apostle S. Peter, the blessed Virgin, and the Saints, appeal to the piety and magnanimity of France. (1) The noble monarch fled to the assistance of the church; and compelled the perjured Lombard to deliver up Ravenna, with the whole Exarchate, and all other cities specified in the former treaty. These were Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigallo,

(1) Spond. ad ann. 755. I

and Ancona. This grant, signed by Pipin and his sons, was made in 755. The year following, Aistulph was killed in the chase, by a fall from his horse.

About the same time, occurred the death of S. Boniface, apostle of Germany. As he was conferring the sacrament of confirmation on the banks of the river Bortna, he was suddenly murdered, together with Eoban, bishop of Utrecht, and several presbyters, deacons, and monks. (1)

In the East, the persecution against the faithful was continued with unabating ferocity. A synod of three hundred and thirty bishops, seconded the impiety of Copronymus: a monk, by name Constantius, notorious for his depraved habits, was raised to the patriarchal chair, in the place of Anastasius deceased. The veneration of images was pronounced idolatry, and the appellation of *saints* was forbidden to be added to the names of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins: the Catholics were branded with the name of Nestorians, Arians, Dioscorians, Eutychians, and Severi-

(1) Vit. S. Bonif. lib. 2. cap. 18. ap. Sur. 5 Jun.

ans. This pseudo synod was dignified with the title of the *seventh œcumenical council*.

(1) It was, however, condemned by the sovereign pontiff, and the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. (2) Stephen, after a pontificate of five years, expired in May, 757, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter. He was succeeded by his brother, Paul, a prelate gifted with rare qualities, and noted for his charity towards the poor. (3) Immediately after his elevation, Paul wrote to Pipin, acquainting him with the event; craving, and offering, a reciprocal friendship. (4) Of his endeavours to convert the emperor, Anastasius makes mention : but the event will prove how unavailing was the attempt to recall to his duty a prince, whose bosom had become steeled against remorse. Copronymus bore a peculiar hatred against the monks ; whom he knew to be the most unbending supporters of the

(1) Spond. ad ann. 754. VI.

(2) Id. VII. et VIII.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 757. I.

(4) It is quoted by Panvinus, in his life of the popes : who affirms that it is extant in the Vatican library. But Baronius thinks that it is no longer to be found in the Vatican. The Centuriators have cited the principal parts of it. (To. VIII.) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 757. II.

veneration of images. Hearing that there dwelt in the mountains of Bithynia, not far from Chalcedon, a solitary, by name Stephen, adorned with the gift of miracles, and a powerful adversary to the prevalent errors, he commissioned Callistus, a patrician, to leave no artifice untried to enlist him on the side of Iconoclasm : the patrician was not wanting in his office : but the holy man rose superior to flattery, and menaces, and calumny, and was exiled to the island of Proconnesus, where he continued two years : after which he was brought back to Constantinople, and immured in the prætorian prison ; and at length crowned with martyrdom. The fury of Copronymus knew no bounds : of the faithful, many were publicly exposed to the derision of the populace ; others were exiled ; some scourged, and several put to death. The false patriarch, Constantine, did not escape : for refusing (I am induced to believe) to side with the emperor, who now became tinctured with Nestorianism, he was deposed, and Nicetas, an eunuch, was appointed in his place : relics and images were destroyed ; the intercession

of the saints was rejected ; the noble church of S. Euphemia was converted into a stable ; (1) and the body of the saint thrown into the sea : but being taken up by some sailors, was conveyed to Lemnos.

In Gaul, there was held near Paris, under the auspices of Pipin, a synod, in which the doctrine respecting the veneration of images, and the trinity, was explained and confirmed. By Copronymus a magnificent embassy was sent, with presents of the rarest description ; and an organ, the first ever seen in the kingdom of France. (2) The object of this embassy was, to offer his son in marriage to the daughter of Pipin : but the proposal was rejected.

In 767, after a pontificate of ten years, Paul expired, and was interred, at first, in the basilick of S. Paul ; but afterwards removed to that of S. Peter. After his demise, the holy See continued vacant an entire year. During this interval, Constantine, brother of duke Toto, was intruded into the pontifical chair, and consecrated by George, bishop of Praeneste :

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 766. I.

(2) Id. II.

but the duke being killed, Constantine was expelled, and Stephen, the fourth of the style, presbyter of S. Cæcilia, a man of sound faith, ecclesiastical erudition, and pure morals, was chosen to fill the chair of Peter. Constantine was deposed in a council of bishops and presbyters, confined in a monastery, and afterwards, without the knowledge of Stephen, was deprived of his eyes and tongue. (1)

No sooner was Stephen seated on the pontifical throne, than he sent to Pipin, requesting him to depute to Rome a certain number of bishops, versed in the sacred canons, to assist at a synod to be celebrated for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, which had been destroyed by the anti-pope Constantine. But Pipin was no more : he died at Paris, after a reign of fifteen years, and was buried in the church of S. Denis. The memory of this monarch comes down to posterity surrounded with the halo of religion, and adorned with the laurels of military prowess. The splendid victories which he achieved over his enemies, place him among the greatest of the

(3) Anast. cit. a Spondan. 768. I.

heroes of France ; and the munificence which he evinced towards the holy See, ranks him among the noblest benefactors of the Roman Church. He divided his dominions between his two sons, Charlemagne and Carloman : the former was crowned king of Neustria and Burgundy ; the latter, of Austrasia. This took place in the year 768.

CHAPTER XL.

EMPERORS—OF THE EAST :

CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS,
CONTINUED.

LEO IV.

CONSTANTINE V.

IRENE,

NICEPHORUS.

BARDANES.

MICHAEL CUROPOLATUS.

LEO, THE ARMENIAN.

OF THE WEST :

CHARLEMAGNE.

LOUIS I.

POPES.

STEPHEN IV.,
CONTINUED.

HADRIAN.

LEO III.

From the beginning of the reign of Charlemagne, anno 768, to his death. Anno 814.

THE zeal and wisdom of Charlemagne shone forth with a lustre not inferior to that of his illustrious father. In compliance with the request of the pope, twelve prelates were sent

from France, to assist at the council held in the Lateran, in 769. Of this council the acts have perished : we are, however, informed by Anastasius, that the anti-pope was deposed, and the decrees of the conventicle, in which he was appointed, were annulled : the pseudo-synod of Constantinople was condemned ; and the doctrine of the veneration of images confirmed. (1)

The pontificate of Stephen, like that of his predecessors, was agitated by the Lombards ; who, under their king Desiderius, or Didier, carried alarm to the walls of Rome. Being informed that Charlemagne had given his hand in marriage to Berta, the daughter of Didier, he wrote to the monarch a letter, describing, in the most hideous colours, the character of the Lombards ; and conjuring him not to contaminate the noble blood of the Franks, by an union with a nation of lepers. (2) The following year, Charlemagne repudiated Berta, and took to his bed Hildegardes, a Suevian lady, of illustrious origin. (3) By the death

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 769. I. II.

(2) Aim. lib. 4. cap. 63. Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag. et alii.

(3) For the causes adduced by various writers for the divorce of Berta, I refer the reader to Spondanus: ad ann. 771. III.

of Carloman, which occurred at this period, Charlemagne became the sole master of the French kingdom. By this revolution, the ambition of Didier (his daughter was the queen of Carloman) was roused. The treaty made with the Roman See, he violated: seized on many cities; nor could he be checked by the letters, legations, or entreaties of the sovereign pontiff, Hadrian, successor to Stephen IV. Hadrian had recourse to the magnanimous Charlemagne: who, unwilling to commence hostilities without necessity, required of Didier that he should restore the places which he had taken: but the obstinacy of the Lombard could not be softened by expostulation: it became necessary to appeal to the sword. Accordingly Charlemagne marched against him at the head of his valiant armies, drove the enemy from the defiles of the Alps, laid siege to Pavia, and recovered Verona, and many other cities. (1) The victor determined to celebrate the Easter festivals at Rome. At the distance of thirty leagues, he was met by the Roman magistrates, and ushered into the

(1) Spond. ad ann. 773. III.

city by all the military, and a vast concourse of children bearing palms in their hands, and singing canticles of thanksgiving to the Almighty. Charlemagne was now but thirty years old; noble in features; majestic in person: surrounded by lords, counts, and dukes, he walked to the tomb of the apostles: at the gate of which, he was met by the pope; and as they entered, the basilick resounded with the canticle, *Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.* (1) Having visited the rest of the churches, and solemnly celebrated the festival, he confirmed the grants made by his father, Pipin, to the holy See, and bound himself by a solemn oath, on the confessional of S. Peter, to acknowledge them forever. (2)

Having satisfied his devotion at Rome, he returned with new courage to the siege of Pavia: the city, wasted with famine and pestilence, gladly opened her gates to the hero. Didier was taken prisoner; and, with his wife, carried into France: his son, Aldagisus, fled to Constantinople, where he was honourably received by the emperor, and honoured with

(1) Spond. ad ann. 774. I.

(2) Anast. in Hadr. an. 774.

the patrician dignity. (1) This event put an end to the dominion of the Lombards, which had lasted two centuries.

Among the captives whom Charlemagne took into Gaul, was the celebrated historian, and secretary of Didier, Paul the deacon. At first he was treated with every mark of esteem, and admitted to the familiarity of the monarch: but being accused of conspiring against him, and to the question whether he was really guilty of the charge, having replied, "that he would ever be faithful to his ancient master," he was condemned to lose his hands: but, in consideration of the talent he possessed for writing history, the sentence was commuted into banishment. He had already composed the history of the Lombards: to this, at the solicitation of Adelperga, the daughter of Didier, to whom he fled, he added two other books, containing the events from the reign of Julian, the apostate, to that of Justinian. (2) After which, taking the habit in the monastery of Cassino, he lived to an extreme old age, and

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 774. II.

(2) Leo Ostien. chron. Cass. lib. I. cap. 17.

died in the odour of sanctity. (1) From this field of battle, the brave Charlemagne was soon called to another. The German Saxons, a ferocious and idolatrous people, having rebelled, to allay the ferment, it became necessary to have recourse to arms. He penetrated as far as the Vöser, drove the insurgents before him, destroyed the city of Eresburg, and with it, the statue of the God of Battle, called by the Germans *Irmengul*. After this, many of the Saxons were converted and baptized. (2)

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 774. V. Sigebert, in his chronicles, writes, that Charlemagne returned to Rome, after the capture of Pavia; and, in a synod of 153 bishops, received the power of electing the Roman pontiff, and conferring investitures on the archbishops and bishops of every province. But Sigebert wrote 338 years after the era in question; and the fact is not to be met with in any more ancient, much less contemporary, author. Sigebert was the avowed friend of the schismatical emperor Henry; and it was to support his pretensions, that he had recourse to an historical fabrication. Baronius, in his annals, (ad ann. 774,) proves that Charlemagne, far from obtaining at Rome such unprecedented privileges, did not so much as return to the metropolis, after the reduction of Capua. Melchior Goldast, a Calvinist, published a work, entitled *Rationale Constitutionum imperialem*, with a view to oppose Baronius: but the attempt was annihilated by a man of profound erudition, and a zealous champion of truth, Father James Gretserus, of the Society of Jesus.

(2) Vit. Carol. magn. annal. Franc. et. chron. Regin.

The emperor Copronymus was also engaged in military affairs : after gaining some advantages over the Bulgarians, he was suddenly attacked with a malady in the legs, called by the Greeks *ἀσθενία*, and expired miserably in the castle *Strongylus*. (1) His death occurred on the 14th of September, after a reign of better than thirty years. He left behind him several sons ; of whom Leo, the eldest, inherited the imperial crown. In the commencement of his reign, Leo affected to be the friend of the people and of religion. His son Constantine, a child, was associated in the empire, and crowned by the patriarch Nicetas ; and the Senate, citizens, and soldiers, bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to recognize any one as emperor but Leo and Constantine, and their children. (2) But it was not long before Leo unsheathed against the faithful the sword of persecution. On the demise of Nicetas, Paul, in principle orthodox, but in conduct temporizing, was raised to the patriarchal See. Aware of the pusillanimity of the new prelate, and enraged at the venera-

(1) Spond. 775. I.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 776. I.

tion paid by his queen Irene to holy images, Leo avowed his real sentiments, discarded his pious wife, and inflicted on the venerators of images, severe and ignominious punishments. But he was not suffered to continue long in this career of cruelty : after a reign of five years, he became insane, and died suddenly. The reins of Government were then assumed by Irene, a lady of extraordinary piety, beauty, and accomplishments. Nicephorus, who aspired to the purple, she condemned to exile, together with all his partisans, and compelled the brothers of Leo to take orders. She proclaimed full liberty to all embracing the monastic life, and professing the orthodox faith. (1)

The vast empire of the Saracens, which, under the first successors of Mahommed, comprised Arabia, Persia, Syria, Egypt, and the fertile coasts of Africa and Spain, was no longer under the sway of one only sovereign. The Kalif retained only the title of sovereign, and the character of priest : other chieftains, under the denomination of Soldáns, had sprung

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 780. III.

up, and ruled, with absolute despotism, in Persia and Egypt. In Spain, their power was broken by divisions: Alfonsus, the Catholic, had gained many victories over them. By Charlemagne they were deprived of Navarre, and driven from the banks of the Ebro. The French monarch now numbered under his dominion, the cities of Geneva and Milan, and all the places, with the exception of Great Britain, which appertained to the ancient empire of Rome.

Meanwhile, Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, who had hitherto been considered an Iconiclast, visited by compunction, abdicated his dignity, and retired into a monastery. (1) When before the empress and Senate, he abjured the communion of the heretics, professed the Catholic faith, and exhorted all to follow his example. A short time after this, he expired, and was succeeded by Tarasius, a layman, endowed with the virtues of a priest, and zealously attached to the orthodox belief. The dignity he at first rejected, but at the solicitation of the empress, on condition that an œcu-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 784. I.

menical council should be celebrated, he consented, at length, to be ordained and consecrated, in the year 784. (1) His first care was to acquaint the pope with his appointment, and to send him a profession of faith couched in the plainest and most unequivocal language. The empress wrote also to Hadrian, requesting him to attend at the council, to be convoked at Constantinople; or, at least, to depute in his stead, men of sound faith and learning. In his answer, the pope approved of the design to convoke a general council; praised the profession of faith made by Tarasius, and exhorted the empress and patriarch to do all in their power to restore to its pristine glory, the religion of their ancestors. (2)

The convocation was immediately proclaimed: but in consequence of a sedition of the Prætorian troops, who adhered to the system of Iconoclasm, it became necessary to defer the synod to a more favourable time. (3) A year

(1) Spondan. *ibid* II.

(2) Act. 2. Nic. Conc, II. Ap. Anast. in præamb. ejusd. Cencil.

(3) Theoph. lib. 23. Ignat. in vit. Taras. Anast. in præf. ad Sept. Synod.

later, (787,) letters were expedited to the oriental bishops, conveking them to the general council, to be held at Nice. Among the first to appear, were Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople; the two legates, each of the name of Peter: the one an arch-presbyter, the other an abbot; and John and Thomas, deputies from the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. There arrived soon after, many confessors, as well bishops as abbots, who had suffered imprisonment, or exile, for the faith, under Copronymus. The number of bishops who assisted at this council, was, as is commonly admitted, three hundred and fifty. (1) It was celebrated in the basiliek of S. Sophia, at Nice. The first session opened on the 27th of September, 787. The object of the convocation was explained by Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople. The letters of the empress were read: and the case of the bishops, who had fallen into Iconielasm and desired to be

(1) Photius enumerates 377: the menologium of Basil, 367. Of this synod, styled the *seventh*, several versions have been made into Latin. The first was word for word, and almost unintelligible: the best is by Anastasius, who rendered it in a free, but faithful, manner. Another is found in the volumes of the Councils. Vide Spelman. ad ann. 787. I.

reconciled, was acted on. After condemning the heresy, by word of mouth and in writing, they were allowed to take their seats with the other bishops.

In the second session, held the 25th, a diligent investigation was made of the faith of Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, who had been the champion of the Iconiclasts. Next were read the letters of the pope to Tarasius, which were applauded and subscribed as well by the patriarch, as by all the bishops.

In the third session, held the 22d, Gregory of Neocæsarea, having given every token of sincere repentance, was restored to his place : the letters of Tarasius to the three other oriental patriarchs, and the answer, in their names, by the monks of Palestine, were read, approved, and subscribed. (1)

In the fourth session, held on the first of September, the authorities on which reposed the doctrine of venerating images, were adduced first from the books of the old and new testaments, and then, from the writings of the holy fathers. (2)

(1) Spond. 787. III.

(2) Vid. act IV. Conc. Nic.

In the fifth session, the patriarch Tarasius shewed from what origin the errors of Iconoclasm sprang, viz : from the Jews, Saracens, Gentiles, Samaritans, and Manicheans : (1) and the grounds on which was established the doctrine of venerating images. He exposed the fraud of the Sectarians, in mutilating, concealing, and burning the writings in which that doctrine was defended. The following day was read the definition made in the pseudo-council of Constantinople, and the refutation of it was adduced from various passages of the holy fathers. It was proved, that no convention of bishops, however numerous, could claim the title of an œcumenical synod, unless the Roman pontiff was present, either in person, or by his legates. The assertion, that the eucharist is the mere image of Christ, was refuted : and it was shewn, that the bread and wine, after the consecration, becomes, truly and properly, *the body and blood of Christ*. (2)

In the seventh and last session, the definition was given of the Catholic faith : the six general councils were confirmed : the Catholic

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 787. IV.

(2) Spondan. ibid. V.

symbol was recited, in which was marked the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son: (1) and the doctrine of the adoration of images was explained and approved. "Adoration," says the council, "is not unfrequently used in the scripture for salutation. In this sense it is that David, in the first book of Kings, is said to have fallen prostrate before Jonathan, and *adored* him. S. Paul, writing to the Hebrews, says, that Jacob, on his death bed, adored the sceptre of Joseph. S. Gregory, of Nazianzen, tells us to honour Bethlehem, and *adore* the cradle. By adoration, however, is not meant the *latria*, which belongs to God alone." From this it is manifest, that the council decreed that images should merely be *venerated*, as adoration, (*latria*,) understood in its strict import, can be offered to HIM, only, who is the God of Heaven and earth. This decree was subscribed by all the bishops, and anathema pronounced against all who should oppose it. Acclamations resounded in honour of the emperor and empress, who were termed a *new Constantine*,

(1) *Qui ex patre filioque procedit.* Spondan. VI.

and a new *Helena*, and the council was dissolved.

In France, the term *adoration* was misconstrued, and created much excitement in the breasts of the prelates. A treatise was composed, to which was affixed the name of the king, and which were called the Carolin books : by Charlemagne, however, it was not written : for the pope, in inveighing against the authors of it, does not so much as complain of the monarch. Probably it was composed and put into the hands of Charlemagne, who transmitted it to Hadrian. Of the ferment created among the bishops; on this subject, the reader will see an instance in the council of Frankfort-upon-Meine; at which were present bishops from Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Brittany, and the legates of the sovereign pontiff. They condemned Elipandus, of Toledo, and Felix, of Urgel; who, from a passage of the Mosarabic ritual misunderstood, concluded that the Redeemer was not the Son of God by nature, but by adoption. Against this doctrine S. Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, wrote a treatise : to Elipandus, and the other Spanish

bishops, Charlemagne addressed a letter, exhorting them to abjure their error, and submit to the decision of the fathers, assembled in council. (1)

By this synod, it is said, the decree of the Nicene council, regarding the veneration of images, was condemned. With Spondanus, I reply, that this was done without the approbation of the apostolical legates : that they defended the proceedings of the synod of Nice, there can be no doubt. (2) This the innovators themselves never questioned. The sovereign pontiff vindicated the conduct of the legates ; and Charlemagne issued an order, by which the acts, which were approved by all, should be enforced, and those against the Nicene synod should be rejected. It must, however, be remarked, that the synod of Frankfort did not attempt to condemn the veneration, but merely the strict *adoration*, of images. The fathers had been falsely assured, 1st. That the Nicene synod had approved of paying to images that homage which we pay to

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 794. II. The letter of Charlemagne is extant in To. VII. Concil.

(2) Magdeb. Cent. 3. cap. 9. Col. 639.

God : and 2d. That the sovereign pontiff had not confirmed the acts of that synod. Had this been the case, the council of Frankfort could not have rejected, with too much indignation, the acts of Nice : they had been badly translated from the Greek ; and, with the original language, the bishops of Frankfort were not acquainted. (1)

Among the foreign clergymen, who assisted at the synod of Frankfort, the most illustrious was Alouin, an Englishman. From his youth, he had been brought up under the direction of Egbert, archbishop of York, one of the most learned men of his age. (2) By Charlemagne, he was made abbot of the monastery of S. Martin ; which, under his patronage, became one of the most celebrated schools of the West. He diffused through

(1) As an instance of the badness of the translation, I subjoin the following : In the Nicene synod, Constantine, Bishop of Cyprus, had said : I embrace holy images ; but offer latria (adoration) to the Trinity. In the translation, he was made to say : I embrace holy images, and adore them as I do the Trinity. From this it is evident, that the council of Frankfort were deceived ; and so far from opposing, actually vindicated, the real doctrine of the church. Vide Heron, To. IX, ad ann. 794. et Bellarm. controuv. de imag. lib. 2. cap. 14. 15.

(2) Alb. Flacc. in ep. ad Eadbal. Ep. Eborac. ap. vetus. auct. de reb. gest. angl. post. Bed. cap. 9.

Great a taste for literature, and numbered among his disciples the greatest prelates, and even the monarch himself. He was versed in rhetoric, dialectics, and astronomy: was eloquent, and spoke with fluency, if not with accuracy, the Latin, Greek, and several other languages. Branches of his seminary were instituted through the different provinces of the empire, especially at Orleans and Lyons. In these the scholar was taught the seven sciences: grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, and the four branches of mathematics, viz: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Of these sciences Alcuin treats, though not at large, in his works, which are mostly theological. His diction is tinged with the genius of the times: his style has some force, but no beauty. In his poetry, and even his prose, he commits many errors against the principles of grammar. He died in extreme old age, in the monastery of Louvain; in the chronicles of which he is honoured with the title of Saint: in some martyrologies he is called *blessed*, but is not venerated as such by the whole church. (1)

(1) See the notes in Lingard, J. 116.

Against Charlemagne, Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, conceived a deadly aversion : the empress Irene, likewise, broke her treaty with him, for having invaded the duchy of Beneventum : Adalgisus, the son of Didier, was preparing to enter Italy, and re-ascend the throne of his fathers. The Saxons looked only for a favourable opportunity to rush to arms : and the Hunns, inhabiting the eastern part of Pannonia, confederated with Tassilo. The exigencies of the times now called forth all the bravery and skill of Charlemagne : having spent the winter of the year 787 beyond the Alps, he marched to Capua, and capitulated with the duke of Beneventum. The duke of Bavaria was taken prisoner, convicted of treason, and condemned by the laws to lose his life : but the victor contented himself with confining him, together with his son Theodo, in a monastery. The Hunns were routed, and compelled to flee into the wilds of Pannonia ; and Adalgisus returned, with disgrace, to Constantinople. (1).

(1) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 788. I. II.

Hadrian had now worn the pontifical tiara twenty-three years ; during which period he distinguished himself by his zeal for the welfare of the holy See, and his munificence in providing for the poor ; and erecting, repairing, and adorning churches. He expired in 795 : his death drew tears from Charlemagne, and his epitaph was written by the hand which had wielded against his adversaries the sword of victory. (1) The chair had not remained vacant a whole day, before Leo, the third of the style, was chosen his successor. Of this pontiff, historians write in a strain of merited eulogy. " He was," says Spondanus, " versed in the scriptures and ecclesiastical knowledge ; chaste, meek, eloquent, firm, charitable, and commiserating." (2) No sooner was he seated on the papal throne, than he sent to Charlemagne the keys of the basilick of S. Peter, and the standard of the city. In return, the monarch deputed, to Rome, Engelbert, abbot of the monastery of S. Riquier, with presents taken from the treasures of the Hunns ; and a letter written in the following terms : " We

(1) Eginar. in vit. Carol.

(2) Ad ann. 795. V.

received, with your epistle, the decree of your election, and rejoice at the unanimity with which it was conducted. It was our intention to have sent the spoils of the barbarians to your predecessor of happy memory : we cannot but weep for his loss. The apostle, I am aware, bids us not to weep at the death of our friends : it is not Hadrian whom I deplore. I am persuaded that he is living with Jesus Christ : but it is impossible for me to think or speak of him without shedding tears. To you, worthy successor of so worthy a pontiff, I look for the alleviation of my sorrow. Raise your hands, like Moses, to Heaven, that we may be victorious over the enemies of the christian name, and that Jesus Christ may be glorified on earth." (1)

Kemulf, king of the Mercians, signalized his attachment to the holy See by a similar legation, and a letter to Leo, requesting to be considered his adopted child, and placing the Mercian people under his protection. (2)

The throne of Gallæcia and Asturia presented, at the same time, a spectacle of edification

(1) Alcuin. ep. 84.

(2) To. VII. concil. p. 1109.

in the person of Alphonsus the chaste : under whose reign the Moors were routed and deprived of Lisbon, and many other cities. Fortunate for the church had it been, had the same spirit of religion pervaded the oriental court : the scene there was of a very different description : corruption reigned without control : the empress conspired against her own son ; whom she caused to be deprived of his eyes, and afterwards put to death. (1) After which she was again proclaimed sole empress.

Meanwhile, a conspiracy was formed at Rome against the sovereign pontiff, by two presbyters, Campulus and Paschal : in a public procession of the Roman people and clergy, of which he moved at the head, these ruffians rushed upon him with their followers, and having dispersed the unarmed people, seized on his person, deprived him of his sight, cut out his tongue, and dragging him into the monastery of S. Stephen and S. Sylvester, scourged him before the altar, and then thrust him into prison. (2) Escaping, however, from his confinement, through the means

(1) Theoph. ann. 7.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 799. I. By the gravest authors it is re-

of the ambassadors of Charlemagne, he fled to Paderburn, in Saxony, where he was received by his magnanimous benefactor, at the head of the clergy and army. During his stay at Paderburn, he consecrated a church, erected for the reception of the relics of S. Stephen, which had been translated to that city, and returned in triumph to Rome, towards the end of November, 799.

The following year, Charlemagne determined to go once more, in person, to the christian metropolis, in order to quell the faction created by the presbyters, Campulus and Paschal, and to vindicate the liberties of the holy See. Having sent his son Pipin against the Beneventans, the enemies of Rome, he marched to the capital : three leagues from the gates, he was met by the pontiff, and hailed, on his entrance, by the acclamations of the citizens. He immediately repaired to the basilick of S. Peter, and kneeling on the steps, received the papal benediction.

lated, that he afterwards recovered his speech and sight in a miraculous manner, " through the intercession of the holy apostles." Theod. aural. Theoph. ann. VII. Const.

In this church, all the prelates of Italy and France, together with the nobility, were convened, in order to investigate the cause of the pope. The prelates unanimously declared, "that they would not dare to judge the apostolic See, the head of all churches : since, according to immemorial custom, it judged all others, and was judged by none." (1) Leo then ascended the Ambo, and swore upon the holy gospels, that he was innocent of the crimes alleged against him. (2)

Thus was the innocence of Leo established, and the faction happily destroyed. In return for the solicitude and protection of Charlemagne, the pope conferred on him the imperial crown. On Christmas day, as he knelt in prayer at the confessional of S. Peter, in presence of all the clergy, people, and nobility, the crown was placed on his brows, by Leo,

(1) Spond. ad ann. 800. II.

(2) The oath ran as follows : I, Leo, pontiff of the holy Roman Church, without any compulsion, but of my own free choice, swear, in the presence of you all, before God and his angels, who know my conscience ; and before the holy apostle Peter, in whose presence we stand, that I neither perpetrated, nor caused to be perpetrated, the crime of which I am accused : calling God to witness, by whom I am to be judged, and in whose presence I am, &c. &c." Spond. 800. II.

amid the acclamations of all, with the title of "most pious, august, mighty, and pacific." Charlemagne then bound himself, by oath, to be the defender of the Roman See. (1)

Being now emperor of the west, he despatched ambassadors to Constantinople, offering his hand to the empress Irene: but there the scene was changed: Irene was an exile in Lesbos, and Nicephorus had usurped the throne. This prince was an abettor of Iconoclasm, the enemy of the Roman See: he, however, entered on a treaty with the French emperor, providing that each should retain the title of emperor: Charlemagne of the west, himself of the east. The intruder did not long sway the eastern sceptre: by Bardanes surnamed Turcus, he was dethroned, deprived of his eyes, and shut up in a monastery: Bardanes was proclaimed emperor, and his son Stauratius crowned Augustus by the patriarch Tarasius. (2) On the death of Tarasius, a noble and virtuous layman, by name Nicephorus, was raised to the patriarchate: by the holy abbots

(1) Vide Baron. To. IX. 800. : as also Gretserus, Soc. Jes. Theolog. To. II. Defens. Bellarm.

(2) Spond. ad ann. 803.

Theodore and Plato, his elevation was opposed, as contrary to the canons : the ire of the emperor was roused : and the abbots were condemned to exile.

Charlemagne, ever zealous for the interests of the church, and the purity of the faith, convened a council, in 809, at Aix la Chapelle, in Gaul, for the purpose of investigating the subject of the *procession of the Holy Ghost*. It was resolved that the term *FILIOQUE* should be added to the symbol of Constantinople, and chanted in the churches. (1)

The emperor Nicephorus had now thrown off the mask, and stood before the eyes of the world in his native deformity : impious, avaricious, and obdurate ; an avowed Manichean ; the oppressor of the monks and clergy ; and the invader of ecclesiastical property. His vices and extortions soon drew upon his head the wrath of Heaven : the Bulgarians declared war against him : by Crunnus, their king, he was slain, and his skull was used as a goblet by the barbarians, at their solemn feasts. Many

(1) Spond. ad ann. 809. IV.

christians were made prisoners, and refusing to deny their faith, were put to death. (1)

Stauratius, the son of Nicephorus, was carried back, severely wounded, to Constantinople; and Michael Curopolates, surnamed Rhancalesus, the son-in-law of Nicephorus, a man adorned with many virtues, was crowned emperor, his wife Procopia, Augusta, and his son Theophilactus, Augustus. He studiously endeavoured to heal the wounds inflicted on religion, under the late reign: returned to the churches what the rapacity of Nicephorus had seized on, recalled from exile Theodore and Plato, reconciled them to Nicephorus, the patriarch, and restored peace to the church. But the Bulgarians were not quiet: it became necessary to march against them: the armies met near Hadrianople: by the treachery of Leo, one of his officers, the troops of Michael deserted him, and he was compelled to flee back to Constantinople. His life was spared, on condition that he would abdicate the imperial crown. Being of a pacific disposition, he immediately sent to Leo, the choice of the

(1) Of these, mention is made in the Greek menology, on the 23d of July; as also in the Latin martyrology.

army, the diadem, purple, and other imperial insignia ; and, with his wife and children, embraced the monastic life. Leo, surnamed the Armenian, having made a profession of faith, was solemnly crowned by the patriarch Nicephorus. (1) The Bulgarians, driven from the walls of Constantinople, took Hadrianople, seized on the holy bishop, Manuel, amputated his hands, severed his body in twain, and threw the parts to be devoured by wild beasts. Of the inhabitants, likewise, all who refused to apostatize from the faith, were cruelly put to death. (2)

The emperor, Leo, acknowledged the title of Charlemagne to the empire of the West, of which the boundaries were to extend to the Baltic sea, the ocean, the Ebrus, along the South coast of the Mediterranean, as far as the Vulturnus, and the Eastern frontiers of Pannonia. These vast dominions being now in a state of perfect tranquillity, and the wars with Germany and Saxony, which had continued during thirty years, being concluded, Charlemagne resolved to secure the peace and

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 813. II.

(2) Menol. 20 Januar. Bolland. To. II. pag. 441.

prosperity of the empire, by resigning his dominions to his son Louis. With this view, he assembled, at Aix la Chapelle, all the bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, and nobles : in the midst of these illustrious personages, the emperor made his appearance, with the diadem on his brows, and reclining on the arm of his son. At the foot of the altar he placed the crown, and remained sometime in silent prayer : then rising, " My son," he said, " keep the commandments of God, defend the church, honour the clergy, love your people, console the poor, chastise the wicked, and appoint faithful ministers in the church." Louis wept : and by the command of his father, with his own hand, placed the imperial crown on his head, amid deafening peals of acclamation. Charlemagne then retired from the world, redoubled his fervour, and devoted all his time to prayer and sacred study. On the 20th of January, 814, a year after his abdication, he was attacked by the pleurisy, and perceiving his end approaching, received the viaticum from his arch-chaplain Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne, and repeating these words : " Into thy hands,

O Lord, I commend my spirit," he calmly expired, on the 28th of January, in the seventy-second year of his age, the forty-seventh of his regal, the fourteenth of his imperial, reign. His body was magnificently interred in the church of the Virgin Mary. (1)

As a king, Charlemagne may be styled the greatest that ever wielded, or perhaps ever shall wield, the sceptre of France : brave, munificent, and pious, he was the terror of his enemies, the delight of his subjects, the protector of religion. To him, in all their trials, the sovereign pontiffs recurred for redress and security : by him, the Roman See was defended from the fury and rapacity of barbarians, and the ambition and revenge of christian chieftains. His virtues were many and shining, but the lustre of his morals is obscured by his frequent divorces, the introduction into the palace of concubines, and the lubricious conduct of his daughters. For these immoralities, however, he bitterly repented in his old age ; and it is to be hoped atoned for them, by the asperities of his declining life. To him,

(1) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 814, V.

France looks as the founder of her empire : to him is she indebted for the civil importance, nay pre-eminence, to which she has attained : him, she will always regard as the pride of her kingdom, and the admiration of the christian world.

CHAPTER XII.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST:

LEO, THE ARMENIAN, CONTINUED.

MICHAEL BALBUS,
THEOPHILUS,
MICHAEL III.

OF THE WEST :

LOUIS LE DEBONNAIRE,
LOTHAIRE,
LOUIS II.

POPES.

S. LEO III.,
CONTINUED.

STEPHEN V.,
S. PASCHAL,
EUGENIUS II.,
VALENTINUS,
GREGORY IV.,
SERGIUS II.,
S. LEO IV.,
BENEDICT III.

*From the death of Charlemagne, anno 814, to
the commencement of the schism of Photius.
Anno 858.*

AT his coronation, the Armenian had made a solemn profession of the orthodox faith : but he had hardly secured himself on the imperial throne, before he declared an open war against the venerators of holy ima-

ges. Having, in vain, attempted to shake the constancy of the patriarch Nicephorus, the head of the monasteries, and especially the celebrated Theodore Studita, he issued an order for all who defended, to dispute on the subject, in his presence, with those who rejected, the veneration of images. (1) With this command the former refused to comply : 1. As the question had been set at rest in a general council, from which there could be no appeal : 2. As it was the priest, not the emperor, in the church, not in the palace, by whom the controversy should be decided : 3. As the emperor was obdurate in his opinions, "he would not have ears to hear the truth." The patriarch Nicephorus merited, by his courage, to be exiled to Proconnesus ; and in his room was placed a certain Theodotus, surnamed Cassitera, a man of no character, and profligate morals : the patriarchal palace became a scene of dissipation, licentiousness, and scandal : the sacred images were consigned to the flames, and the Iconiclasts triumphed.

(1) Spondan. 814. I.

A conventicle was immediately summoned, with Theodotus at the head, to meet in the church of S. Sophia : (1) Constantine, the emperor's son, assisted in the name of his father. The orthodox prelates were invited ; some refused to attend, others attended merely to confute the heretics. (2) The sixth œcumenical council was condemned : the synod held under Copronymus, approved. (3)

The bishops and abbots, who remained firm in the defence of truth, were sent into exile ; (4) and the faithful were treated with tyrannical severity. (5) The pontifical chair was now filled by Stephen V., styled the Fourth, (6) who succeeded to S. Leo, in June, 816. He was, by birth, a Roman, and the descendant of an illustrious family. On his accession, he caused the Roman people to swear

(1) Vit. Niceph. n. 17. (2) Spondan. ad ann. 814. III.

(3) Among the orthodox prelates who attended, the following are particularly distinguished : Theophylactus, of Nicomedia ; Joseph, of Thessalonica ; Theophilus, of Ephesus, and Peter, of Nicæ. Among the abbots, Theodore Studita ; Nicetas, formerly Patrician, and the relation of the Empress Irene ; Theophanes, &c. &c. Ap. Sur. 3 April. Ap. Mich. Stud. et vit. Theod. Cædr. in Leo. imperat. Theod. Studit. lib. 2. epist.

(4) Spondan. ad ann. 814. III.

(5) Mart. Rom. 12 Mart. Menol. Græc. 27 Mart. 18 Apr.

(6) Spondan. 816. VI.

fealty to the emperor Louis : sent ambassadors to him, and determined to visit France, in person. (1) By Louis, he was met at Rheims, with every demonstration of respect and attachment : and, in presence of the clergy, nobles, and people, before the celebration of mass, he anointed the emperor with the holy unction, and crowned Irmingardes, his queen. (2) He remained in France, about three months, returned to his metropolis, and died in February, 817, after having sat only seven months.

The holy see remained vacant but a day, when Paschal, a presbyter and monk, was unanimously chosen to occupy it : " he was," says Spondanus, " holy, learned, eloquent, magnanimous ; in a word, adorned with all virtues." (3) His first care was to send ambassadors to Louis, informing him of his elevation, and craving a confirmation of the grants conceded by his illustrious predecessors.

Accordingly, the emperor summoned at Aix-la-Chapelle all the bishops and abbots of

(1) Theg. de gest. Ludov. imp. cap. 16. 17. 18.

(2) Vit. Ludov. cap. 38. 39.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 817. I.

the kingdom : by this synod, eighty chapters, regarding the monastic life, were drawn up, and ordered to be enforced. (1) The grants made to the holy see by Pipin and Charlemagne, were confirmed, by a new constitution, in which Louis conceded to the Pope, Rome with its duchy, and all the places belonging to it, as well in Tuscany, as in Campania ; the whole of the Exarchate of Ravenna : the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily ; the duchies of Beneventum and Spoleto ; Naples, Calabria, and several other places. (2)

Meanwhile, Bernard, king of Italy, the brother of Louis, stimulated by evil advisers, conspired against the emperor : but afterwards, unable to oppose the imperial armies, threw himself on the royal mercy : after a fair investigation of his conduct, it was pronounced treasonable by the lords, and the punishment was capital : but Louis contented himself with depriving him of his eyes. The bishops who

(1) Leo Ostien. chron. Cass. lib. I. cap. 18.

(2) A part of this Constitution is cited by Gratian : (dist. 63, cap. Ego. Ludov.) the whole is extant in the Vatican library. vid. Baron. To. IX. 818. Goldstat, the Calvinist, attacks it as supposititious : but he was triumphantly confuted by the learned Jesuit, Gretserus. cap. 8. apol. Baron.

took part in the conspiracy, were deposed, and shut up in monasteries. Drogon, Theodorick, and Hogo, the natural sons of Charlemagne, though innocent of the crime, were shorn, and confined. (1)

A similar conspiracy in the East proved fatal to the emperor: it was headed by Michael, surnamed Balbus, but was detected, and the ringleader was condemned to be burnt: but before the execution of the sentence, the emperor was massacred by the insurgents, his head was amputated, and his body publicly exposed in the Hebdomon. Michael Balbus was instantly proclaimed emperor, and crowned, by the patriarch, in the church of S. Sophia. The four children of Leo were made eunuchs, and banished to an island: their mother was shut up in a monastery. (2)

The bosom of Louis was now visited by remorse for the cruelty with which he treated those whom he suspected to have taken a part in the conspiracy. In a general convention of bishops, abbots, and nobles, held at Attignis

(1) Spondan. 817. IV.

(2) These particulars are related by Cedrenus, a contemporary historian. Vide Spondan. 820. II.

on-Aine, he demanded pardon ; and, in imitation of Theodosius the great, desired to do public penance. (1) In this assembly, various regulations were made respecting the discipline of the Church ; and the ordeals, so common at this period, were condemned. These ordeals, it must be remarked, were merely local, and originated in the superstition of individuals, without ever being sanctioned, on the contrary, they were uniformly condemned by the Church. The most prevalent in France, were 1. that of the cross, by which the parties accused were condemned to stand in one position, fixed and immoveable, before a cross ; and he who fell first was deemed guilty. : (2) 2. that of iron, by which the accused was obliged to take into his hand a heated bar of iron ; if he could hold it for a certain time, he was pronounced innocent : the irons were blest, and preserved only in certain monasteries, to which belonged the privilege of keeping them. : 3. that of the duel, by which the parties fought, and the survivor was considered innocent. Against these superstitious practices Agobard,

(1) St. Adhel. ap. Sur. 2 Jan. Agab. de disp.

(2) Mabill. annal. To. I.

archbishop of Lyons, was the first to raise his voice : and by the zeal of the popes, assisted by the authority of the emperors, they were gradually abolished.

S. Paschal, after a pontificate of seven years, died in 825, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter among the remains of his predecessors. Before his demise, he sent to Denmark, Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, by whom Harold king of the Danes was converted, and baptized.

(1) After a vacancy of four days, the chair was filled by Eugenius, the second of the title, presbyter of S. Sabina, illustrious for his piety, learning, and virtues. His elevation was, however, opposed by the people, who declared in favour of Zozimus : but the schism was soon quelled by the emperor Louis, who sent his son Lothaire to Rome, for the express purpose of quelling the tumult. The reign of Eugenius was short : on the 12th, of August, 827, he was succeeded by, Valentinus, a Roman,

(1) Egin. an. 826., He cannot, however, be styled the apostle of the Danes : that title is claimed by S. Anscarus, a Saxon monk ; who was consecrated the first archbishop of those Northern regions, and fixed his See at Hamburg. His life was written by his disciple, and successor, S. Rembert. Vide Gar. & Fabr. Spondan. 826. V.

adorned with many virtues. He sat but forty days, when Gregory IV., a man distinguished for his birth, learning, and piety, was chosen to succeed him.

The Musulmans were now ravaging the christian world : those of Spain had established colonies even in the Grecian isles, took Crete, and built on Candax a city which they called Candia, and which afterwards gave its name to the whole island : those of Africa, through the treachery of Euphemius, governor of Sicily, became masters of that island. This man, having forcibly married a virgin consecrated to God, was, at the solicitation of her brothers, summoned by the emperor to the East. And though Michael himself had been guilty of a similar crime, (he had married Euphrosyna, a nun) still, he ordered the law to be rigorously enforced against Euphemius. Instead of obeying the summons, Euphemius fled to the Emir of Africa, from whom he received the title of emperor, on condition, that Sicily should be ceded to the Musulmans : inflated with his empty dignity, at the head of a barbarian army, he returned to Syracuse : and Sicily, and

Calabria, and several ports of Italy fell under the dominion of the Moslems. (1) In order to check their progress, the sovereign pontiff fortified the mouth of the Tiber, and rebuilt Ostia; to which, from his own name, he gave the appellation of GREGORIOPOLIS. (2)

In order to cover the tyranny which he was exercising over his orthodox subjects, Michael deputed an embassy, with letters and presents to the French emperor, renewing his attachment to, and confirming his amity with, that "most christian" prince. He likewise sent letters to the sovereign pontiff, and offerings to the church of S. Peter. (3) Louis, flattering himself with the hope of restoring peace to the Oriental church, convened, in the royal palace, near Paris, the most learned men of the empire. (4) By this synod, the subject of venerating images was discussed; from the epistle of S. Gregory, pope, to Serenus, bishop of Mar-

(1) Post. Theoph. n. 27. cap. 24. chron. Cassin. I. cap. 11.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 829. I. In order to defend the basilick of S. Peter, out of the walls, he laid the foundation of another town, which was built by Leo IV.; and, from him, was called LEONINA.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 824. II.

(4) Concil. Gall. To. VII.

seilles, misunderstood, it was decreed, that images are placed in the churches, not for the veneration, but merely the instruction, of the faithful : and the seventh œcumenical synod of Nice was rejected, on the false ground that it permitted the adoration of *latria* to be offered to images : by this act, the old wound was opened afresh, and became more dangerous than ever. Of this synod the acts were sent, in the name of the emperor, to the sovereign pontiff, who not only did not sanction them, but inflexibly adhered to the doctrine of his predecessors : it is probable that he, moreover, reproved and menaced the ambassadors sent by Louis, since, it does not appear that they, or any others of the Occidental church, ever renewed the subject. (1)

In the East, the persecution continued : on

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 825. IV. The following year, Eugenius sent a legation to Louis ; of which the object, probably, was to recall him from his errors : whether, or not, the ambassadors, which the emperor intended to send to Constantinople, were despatched, is doubtful. It must not be forgotten by the reader, that the French did not fall into, but on the contrary meant to suppress, the errors of Iconoclasm. They never called in question the propriety of *venerating*, but rejected and condemned the *adoring*, (literally understood,) sacred images. The object of the synod of Paris, was the same as that of Frankfort, of which I treated above.

the demise of the emperor Michael, (he expired in 829, after an impious reign of eight years and nine months,) his son Theophilus mounted the throne : and after a few months of apparent moderation and justice, relapsed into his native vices, and prosecuted the war, which his father had begun, against the faithful. (1)

At the same time, the throne of Louis was shaken to its foundations by a daring conspiracy, of his sons, and many of his subjects and clergy : (2) of this, the cause was his having taken into his court as prefect of the royal chamber, Bernard, the count of Spain, who, it was believed, had defiled the bed of the empress. The ire of Pipin, (the emperor's child by his first wife Emengarda) was inflamed : and his jealousy against his step-brothers Charles and Rodolph, towards whom Louis evinced a spirit of partiality, was roused. He rushed to arms, at the head of a powerful army : Louis was intimidated : expelled Bernard, and commanded Judith (his second wife) to be shut up in the monastery of S. Medard. But

(1) Spond. 829. II.

(2) Egin. et Astron. ad ann. 829.

the conspirators were not satisfied : they forced her from her enclosure, and made her swear to persuade the emperor to resign his sceptre, and of his own accord, retire into a monastery. Accordingly she had an interview with Louis, who demanded some time to deliberate. In the meanwhile, Lothaire, the emperor's eldest son, and associate in the empire, came from Italy into Gaul ; and though he approved of what had been done against his father, did not suffer the conspiracy to be carried to extremes : nor the affair to be settled by the sword, but by the law. Wherefore it was determined that an assembly of the nation should be convened, before which the emperor appeared in person, and assumed the tone and authority of a sovereign. Lothaire fell at the feet of his father, and sued for reconciliation. Louis restored him to his throne in Italy, and granted a general amnesty to the conspirators, a few only excepted, whom he condemned to exile.

Judith was now recalled to the palace, in the character of empress : Bernard offered to vindicate his innocence by the duel ; but, no one daring to accept the challenge, he cleared

himself by oath. (1) The fires of sedition were not, however, extinguished : Jndith was preparing to weave the diadem around the temples of her favourite son Charles : this could not be done without trenching on the rights of Lothaire and Pipin ; and, to such a measure, their ambition and jealousy forbade them to yield without resistance : they appealed to the pope ; who, with the view of terminating the quarrel, set out for Gaul, and met the two brothers and emperor with their armies, on the plains between Basil and Stratsburg : by Louis his conduct was closely scrutinized, and was suspected of partiality towards the young princes ; he was treated in the imperial camp in a manner far different from that, with which the pontiffs were accustomed to be welcomed, by the kings of France. (2) The object of his journey failed, and he returned, with a sorrowful heart, to Rome.

The event of a pitched battle was the only means remaining to settle the quarrel : the armies were accordingly drawn up in full array : but the emperor's troops deserting him, he

(1) *Annal. Met. et Bert.* 829. 830.

(2) *Spondan.* 823. L

was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner to his implacable sons. By this, Judith was sent a captive, to Tortona in Italy ; Charles, her son, was confined in the monastery of Prüm in Metz, and the emperor himself in that of S. Medard at Soissons. But his deposition was not of long duration : the lords of the kingdom were roused in defence of their sovereign ; Lothaire was compelled to flee from their indignation, and Louis was again re-placed on the throne of his fathers.

In 835, an assembly of bishops and others convened at Theonville : of which the object was to annul, in a canonical manner, the proceedings against their sovereign. (1) Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who had been the principal author of the deposition of Louis, by the advice of the bishops, abdicated his mitre ; and the others who co-operated in it, pleading that they had been forced to do so, were pardoned. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, who refused to appear before the synod, was condemned. Louis being thus restored, repaired, on the first Sunday of Lent, with the bishops and no-

(1) Coïnt. an. 860. n. 57. an. 834. 4.

bles, to Metz : where, during the sacrifice of mass, seven archbishops recited over him seven prayers of reconciliation. (1)

Theophilus, emperor of the East, still persisted in the fanaticism of the Iconiclasts : but was resolutely opposed by many pious personages ; of whom the most distinguished were the holy monks Abraham, Lazarus, Theodore, and Theophanes. (2) The incursions of the Saracens, however, rendered it necessary for him to suspend the persecution against the faithful, and to march to battle against the infidels : in this campaign, he proved unsuccessful ; was defeated, and narrowly escaped with his life. By this misfortune, he became heart-broken ; suddenly despatched an ambassador to crave assistance from the French court ; but hearing of his death, and seeing himself deprived of all hope, having recommended to the senate and nobles, Michael his son and Theodora his wife, he expired on the 20th of January, 842. Michael, the third of the name, now ascended the throne of his father : but being a minor, the government was confided to his mother

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 835, I.

(2) Bolland. ad. 12. Febr.

Theodora, in conjunction with Theoctistus, the eunuch, and Manuel, master of the soldiery. The empress was orthodox and pious; and her first care was to take measures to re-establish the veneration of images: she issued, to this effect, a decree, by which the faithful were recalled from exile and freed from prison; and whoever refused to abjure their errors, were condemned to banishment. The pseudo-patriarch, John, was deposed: and, to the extreme joy of all the orthodox, was chosen in his stead Methodius, a saintly and learned presbyter.

(1) His appointment was confirmed by a synod of bishops; in which the œcumenical council of Nice was approved, and the death-blow given to the heresy of the Iconiclasts, which had so long disturbed and desolated the Oriental church. The sacred images were restored, with the most solemn and pompous ceremonies, to the various churches in the city of Constantinople; and the first Sunday of Lent was designated as a particular festival, on which the memory of this event was to be commemorated forever. (2)

(1) These particulars are related by John Curopalates; vid. Spondan. 842. III.

(2) Spondan. 842. IV.

Meanwhile, the affairs of the West had assumed a new aspect, by the death of the emperor Louis : having celebrated the christmass holidays at Poitiers, he was necessitated to go to Germany to quell a commotion excited by his son Louis ; who, jealous of the preference which had been given to his younger brother Charles, invaded that province. At Worms, he assembled the nobles, summoned and reconciled the royal brothers. He there fell sick ; and perceiving that his end was approaching, caused himself to be removed to an island near Mentz : he confessed his sins to Drogon, bishop of Metz, received the holy viaticum, and repeating these words : " thou art just, O Lord," he expired on the 20th of June, 841, aged 64, having reigned 27 years. He was buried, with great pomp, in the monastery of S. Arnulph, at Metz.

The imperial crown now devolved on Lothaire ; who, in violation of the instructions of his deceased father, crossed the Meuse and Seine, and advanced as far as the Loire. Louis and Charles confederated against their ambitious brother, and gave him battle on the

plains of Fontenai, on Saturday the fourth of June. After a bloody conflict they triumphed : Lothaire was compelled to flee, leaving the field strewed with the bodies of the slain. (1) By this victory, Charles, surnamed the Bald, secured the dominions left him by his father.

The papal throne had now become vacant, by the death of Gregory IV. John, a deacon, looked with an ambitious eye, upon the tiara, and attempted to grapple it by force. But his attempt was defeated ; and Sergius, the arch-presbyter, illustrious by his virtues, learning, and piety, was consecrated pope. (2) As soon as his elevation was made known in France, Lothaire despatched to Rome his son Louis, with Drogon, archbishop of Metz, and many other prelates, and lords. By Sergius, the young prince was received with every mark of respect and friendship : many of the Roman noblemen went out, with their standards, to meet him : and the pope himself, though he suspected the hostility of his intentions, accompanied him to the basilick of S. Peter. But on arriving at the gates, he refused to open

(1) Nithard. lib. 9. init.

(2) Anast. in Greg. IV.

them, unless the Prince should declare that the object of his journey was of an amicable nature : protesting that his object was pacific, the gates were thrown open, and they entered together. (1) A council was soon after convoked, consisting of twenty three bishops, all of whom, with the exception of Drogon, were Italians. The consecration of Sergius was approved ; (2) the Romans swore fealty to the emperor ; and Louis was crowned king of Lombardy by the pontiff. This took place in the year 844.

The following year, France was inundated by an irruption of North-men, or Normans ; who, under their barbarous king Horich, spread desolation around. They poured down the Seine, pillaged Rouen, and swept as far as the walls of Paris : but having received a large sum of money from Charles, they retired with an oath never again to return as enemies. (3) In order to revive the ecclesiastical spirit, and reform many abuses which had crept into the sanctuary, several councils were celebrated in

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 844. III.

(2) Tom. VII. Concil. pag. 1799.

(3) Spond. ad ann. 845. IV.

France, of which, the principal are those of Verneuil, Meaux, Paris, Soissons, Querci, and Mentz.

The sect of Manichæans, disguised under the name of Paulicians, was still numerous in the East: the empress Theodora resolved to extirpate them: to this end she ordered an army to be raised, under the command of the bravest officers: the Manichæans resisted: a battle was fought, and Spondanus relates, that an hundred thousand were killed: the survivors took refuge among the Turks, and revenged themselves on the empire. (1)

The attempt to convert the remnants of the Iconoclasts, was more successful: the patriarch S. Methodius, evinced in their regard an extraordinary moderation: the stern minds of some of the Oriental bishops disapproved of his clemency: and a schism would probably have occurred, had not a holy monk, by name Johannicus, who had a powerful influence on the public feeling, prevented it. (2) After his exertions in the cause of peace, Johannicus re-

(1) Pel. Sic. p. 70. Cedr. To. II. p. 433.

(2) Vit. S. Johann. Nic. ap. Sur. To. 6. p. 31. etc.

turned to the monastery of Mount Olympus, where he died in 846. (1)

The holy patriarch Methodius survived him but a year: he expired on the fourteenth of June, 847, and was succeeded by Ignatius, the son of the emperor Michael Curepolata, who, as the reader saw above, after the deposition of his father, was compelled to embrace the monastic habit. (2)

The same year died the pontiff Sergius, after a pontificate of three years; and was immediately succeeded by Leo, the fourth of the style, a man of great virtue and sanctity. (3) The church of Gaul was, at this period, adorned by two celebrated prelates, Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, and Raban, bishop of Mentz. (4) Hinemar entered, while young, into the monastery of S. Denis, of which Hildwin was abbot. In 845, he was appointed arch-bishop by the council of Beauvais, and in the discharge of his duties, evinced a great elevation of mind, and indefatigable activity: he was one

(1) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 846. III.

(2) Vide Spondan. ad ann. 847. IX.

(3) Spondan. 847. II.

(4) Flod. lib. 3. cap. 1.

of the most learned men, perhaps the ablest canonist, of his age.

Raban was born at Mentz; and in his boyhood, was placed in the monastery of Fuld, whence he was sent, by his abbot, S. Eigel, to Tours, and put under the direction of Alcuin.

(1) According to a custom, at that time prevalent among the learned, he assumed a latin name, and was called Maurus. To Eigel he succeeded in the capacity of abbot, and governed the monastery twenty years: after which, notwithstanding his old age, (he was in his seventieth year,) he was promoted to the see of Mentz. His zeal now glowed with the ardour of youth: his exertions for the reformation of manners, and the purity of the church-discipline, were unwearied: in 848, in consequence of certain errors disseminated by Gothscale, a monk of the metropolitan church of Mentz, he convened a synod in that city. Gothscale is described as an ambitious, restless, and tumultuous character. Contrary to the canons of the church, and in violation of the rules of his monastery, he left his enclosure, caused him-

(1) Mabill. act. To. 6. 20.

self to be ordained priest, and wandered from place to place, disseminating, as he strayed, the errors with which he was infected. (1) By the council he was condemned, and in virtue of the rules of his monastery, he was scourged, and confined in the abbey of Hautvilliers, where, persisting in his errors to the last, he miserably died. (2)

Meanwhile, the Saracens carried their depredations beyond the Pyrenees: Inigo, viscount of Bigorra, seeing himself at the mercy of the barbarians, resolved to erect a barrier independent of that afforded by the French: by the christians who dwelt in that district, he was chosen king, fortified his dominions, and reigned with sovereign power: at his death, his son Ranimer succeeded to the sceptre: from Ranimer it passed into the hands of Inigo II., who made himself master of Pampeluna, and became the founder of the kingdom of Navarre.

(1) These errors principally regarded Predestination: he maintained that God predestinates some men to eternal life, others to eternal death: that he does not wish all to be saved, but only those who are saved: that for them only, not for all men, did Christ die: &c. &c. Spondan. 848. III.

(2) Ep. Ralan. ad Eberard.

The plains of Italy were inundated with hordes of African Moors : in order to defend from their ravages, the venerable basilick of S. Peter, Leo IV. had erected the new city of LEONINA : he now determined to rebuild the town of Centum-celli, which lay in ruins : to this new place he gave the name of Leopolis, and with great solemnity dedicated it to the holy Trinity, in 852. (1) After a pontificate of eight years, he died on the 19th of July, 855, and was buried in the basilick of S. Peter.

The same year the emperor Lothaire, after resigning his crown, and dividing his dominions between his two sons, (to Louis he gave Italy, to Lothaire France, with the exception of the province belonging to Charles the Bald,) retired into the monastery of Prum, and died in peace. (2)

To Leo IV., succeeded Benedict III., a holy and virtuous Presbyter of the title of S. Callixtus : his promotion was, however, opposed by a faction ; and a presbyter, by name Anasta-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 852. I.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 855. VI. Lothaire is praised by Raban in his work " de anima ;" and by Angelomus, in his preface to the Canticles.

sius, who had been deposed by Leo IV., supported by the ambassadors of Louis, invaded the basilick of S. Peter, destroyed and burned the holy images, and then, seizing on the Lateran palace, intruded himself on the pontifical throne, and caused Benedict to be confined. But the bishops, clergy, and people of Rome, unanimously rose in defence of the lawful pontiff; expelled Anastasius, and restored Benedict, amid the acclamations of thousands. (1)

(1) This is related at length by Anastasius the librarian : Spondan. 855. V. Between Leo IV. and Benedict III. a female pope has been made to reign, by the enemies of the church : this fable rests on the authority of Marianus Scotus ; who, in relating it, manifestly falls into an egregious anachronism : for he says that Joan, (this is the name of the female in question) began her reign in 853 : now, it is certain, from the authority of Anastasius the librarian, who wrote at that very time, (Marianus wrote two hundred years after) that Leo's pontificate continued until the year 855 : and six days after the demise of Leo, Benedict III. was chosen to succeed him, as we learn from Lupus, abbot, (ep. 103) ; Nicholas, pope, (ep. 1. 5. 8 9.) ; etc. etc. (vid. Spond. 853. VI. VII.) ; therefore, there could be no pope between them. Of the other writers who mention Joan, the testimonies do not agree : some make her a German, others an Englishwoman : some make her reign in 853, others in 854, others in 857, others in 858, others in 859 : some say that she sat one year and one month, others two years, others two years and a half, and others only four months. This fable has been completely refuted by Baronius, who refers his readers to Florimundus Ræmundus, who wrote a work intituled, *Error popularis de Joanna Papissa*. Spondan. ubi supr. VIII.

CHAPTER XIII.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST :

MICHAEL III.
BASIL, THE MACEDONIAN.
OF THE WEST :
LOUIS II.

POPES.

BENEDICT III.,
CONTINUED.
NICHOLAS I.
HADRIAN II.

From the commencement of the schism of Photius, anno 885, to the eighth general Council. Anno 869.

THE emperor Michael III. had now degenerated into a second Nero : his noblest occupation was to drive the chariot at the public games, or mimick the solemnities of the church : on the chief of his abandoned associates he conferred the title of patriarch, and on eleven others that of the eleven highest prelaties dependant on Constantinople. In a public procession, the mock patriarch appeared on an ass, sounding a guitar, while his followers

rent the air with vociferations against Ignatius and his clergy. Of the satellites of the emperor, the two most conspicuous were Bardas and Photius : the former a patrician, swayed the emperor's mind at will ; the latter an eunuch, of noble birth, was secretary to the emperor.

(1) Bardas had repudiated his lawful wife, and lived in criminal connexion with one of his relations : after many, but fruitless admonitions, Ignatius was, at length, compelled to excommunicate him. A faction was immediately formed : the patriarch was accused of conspiring against the emperor, deposed, and exiled, first to the island of Terebinthus ; (2) afterwards to that of Mytelene. In the room of Ignatius, was substituted the eunuch Photius, a man, utterly unacquainted with the sacred sciences, but versed in profane literature, wealthy, and ambitious. He was consecrated by Gregory, bishop of Syracuse, an excommunicated prelate, under the pontificate of Nicholas I., in the year 858.

As many bishops adhered to Ignatius, Photius advised the emperor to convene a council,

(1) Spond. ad ann. 858. IV. V. (2) Nicet. vit. Ignat. VIII.

in order to sever them from their holy patriarch : but this measure failing, he had recourse to a more subtle artifice, despatched an embassy to Rome, assuring the pope, that Ignatius, on account of his age and infirmities, had resigned the patriarchate, and betaken himself to a monastery in an island : his profession of faith was orthodox, and the zeal he affected against the Iconoclasts was calculated to blind the pontiff. (1) The letters of Photius were backed by those of the emperor, who conjured the pope to send his legates to the East to annihilate the remnants of Iconoclasm : and, in testimony of his sincerity, sent to the church of S. Peter, the most precious gifts. (2)

Nicholas acted with great prudence : summoned a council of bishops, and appointed, as legates to Constantinople, Rodoaldus bishop of Porto, and Zacharias bishop of Anagnin : he instructed them to define the subject of Iconoclasm which had so often been decided ; and to take cognizance of the affair between Photius and Ignatius ; forbidding them, at the same

(1) The letter of Photius is extant, and cited by Baronius, annal. To. X. 859.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 859. IV.

time, to communicate with the former as bishop, until they should receive the decision of the holy see. (1) Through them he sent to Photius a short, to the emperor a long, letter; complaining of the deposition of Ignatius, and the uncanonical appointment of a layman, without the approbation of the Roman pontiff (2)

On the arrival at Constantinople of the legates, as soon as the opinion of the pope was known, they were received without honour, and for an hundred days, were not permitted to appear in public. (3)

In 861, a conventicle was summoned by Photius, in the church of the apostles at Constantinople, in which the pope's legates were forced to appear: before this tribunal Ignatius was arraigned, and, falsely accused of having invaded the patriarchal chair through the favour of secular princes, was again condemned, divested of his episcopal insignia, and excommunicated. To this sentence, the legates, induced through fear, gave their sanction. Every effort was made to extort from Ignatius the confirma-

(1) Nicol. ep. 1. 4. To. 3. ep. Rom. Pontif.

(2) Id. ep. 2. 3.

(3) Id. ep. 6.

tion of the sentence passed against him: he was incarcerated, chained, tormented, scourged, stretched at full length with his face on the ground, where he lay a whole night; and finally, after losing much blood, and hardly breathing, a pen was thrust into his hand, with which, through the agency of another, a cross was scratched on a black sheet: (1) which, being given to Photius, he wrote on it the following lines: "I, Ignatius, unworthy patriarch of Constantinople, confess, that I was not canonically elected, and have not acted religiously, but tyrannically:" and in order to incapacitate him forever, would have amputated his hand, and deprived him of his eyes, had he not made his escape from Constantinople in the guise of a slave. He was afterwards suffered to return, and shut himself up in his monastery.

Meanwhile the legates returned to Rome; and represented Ignatius as juridically deposed, Photius as the ornament and hope of the Oriental church: with them the emperor sent an ambassador, by name Leo, praying the sov-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 861. IV.

reign pontiff to confirm the deposition of Ignatius, and the promotion of Photius. Photius wrote by the legates a letter composed with peculiar elegance, affecting mutual charity, and apologizing for the mode of his promotion.

But Ignatius, aware of the prevarication of the legates, wrote a meek statement of the whole affair, which he sent to Rome by Theognostus, who had formerly been Exarch, and was now a monk. (1) He appealed to the pope, "as the chief and patriarch of all sees, and the successor of the prince of the apostles."

(2) The arrival of Theognostus ushered light into the pontiff's mind: the dark combination against the persecuted patriarch was developed, and the daring intrusion of Photius represented in its true colours. By Leo, the imperial ambassador, Nicholas wrote to Michael and Photius, complaining of the ejection of Ignatius, and the promotion of the eunuch, whom he styles not a bishop, but a layman: the prelates and faithful of the East he commanded to abstain from the communion of Photius, and adhere to Ignatius. (3) He more-

(1) The letter is cited by Baronius, To. IX. 861.

(2) Spondan. ubi supra. V.

(3) Nicol. ep. 5. 6.

over, convened at Rome a council, in which the prevaricating prelates were tried, deposed, and excommunicated : Photius, the invader of another's see, and persecutor of the rightful prelate, was also deposed ; together with Gregory of Syracuse, the ring-leader of the schism : the bishops, expelled by Photius, were restored ; the heresy of the Iconoclasts was condemned, and its abettors were excommunicated. (1)

As soon as Photius learned that he had been condemned at Rome, he declared an open war against the faithful ; and, in the paroxysm of his rage, stript some of their goods, others of their honours ; some he sent into exile, others he confined in prisons, and others he tortured on the rack : so that, (backed in all by the emperor, and Bardas Caesar) neither age, or sex, no condition whatever escaped the effects of his cruelty and revenge : the sovereign pontiff he calumniated and anathematized : and in vindication of the measure, circulated a writing, to which he affixed the names of about a thousand prelates, whereas not one, with the

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 863. II.

exception of one and twenty degenerate men, the avowed abettors of his impiety, was found to side with him: all, on the contrary, reclaimed against it, as being unprecedented, for the sovereign pontiff to be judged by an inferior: he, however, dared to arrogate the title of "universal patriarch," and represented the Latins as violaters of ecclesiastical discipline, and no better than heretics. (1)

The ambition of Photius was now without bounds: he meditated nothing less than the destruction of the whole Western church, and the erection of his throne upon the ruins of that of Nicholas: with this design, he sent to Louis II. the acts of the conventicle which condemned the pope, and a letter inflated with adulation. A spirit of discontent and of faction had now gone abroad through the French empire: Lothaire, the brother of Louis, had discarded his lawful spouse Theutperga, and taken to his bed a concubine named Waldrada. The persecuted queen took refuge in the dominions of Charles, and appealed for justice to the sovereign pontiff; with the view of set-

(1) Anast. præf. in 8. Synod.

ting the question, Charles induced his brother Lothaire to convoke a synod at Metz, by which his divorce might be canonically examined. The pope's legates were, John a bishop, and Rodoaldus, who had prevaricated at Constantinople: with the approbation of these unfaithful men, the expulsion of Theutperga was confirmed; the marriage with Waldrada ratified. The principal agents, in this affair, were Gunthaire, archbishop of Cologne, and Theutgaud, archbishop of Treves. (1)

To countervail the evil effects of this convention, Nicholas immediately convoked in the Lateran, a synod, by which the proceedings of Metz were declared null and void, and the bishops who connived at, or approved of, them, were warned to retract their signatures, and beg pardon for their crime. (2) The archbishops of Cologne and Treves fled for protection to Louis, whom they had gained over to their party; and who, to avenge their cause, marched to the gates of Rome: but, attacked by a severe fever, he had time to reflect: became penitent: assured the pontiff of his at-

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 863. III.

(2) Anastas. cit. a Spondan. ubi supr.

tachment to the holy see, and banished the rebellious archbishops. Theutgaud returned to a sense of his duty, and, after a severe penance, was reconciled to the church : Gunthaire grew, every day, more obstinate, and persisted in his sin. (1)

The grief of Nicholas was, however, somewhat alleviated by the conversion of Bogoris, king of the Bulgarians, who assumed, in baptism, the name of Michael : (2) to the sovereign pontiff he deputed an embassy with letters and presents, desiring him to send to the Bulgarians, apostles, by whom they might be perfectly instructed in the truths of religion.

With his request, Nicholas immediately and cheerfully complied : and commissioned for the work Paul, bishop of Populonia in Tuscany, and Forinosus, bishop of Porto, men of great sanctity. (3) With them he sent legates to Constantinople, viz : Donatus, bishop of Ostia, Leo, presbyter of the title of S. Laurence in Damaso, and Marinus, deacon of the Roman church.

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 864. VI.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 866. I.

(2) Anast. in Nichol.

Meanwhile, Michael began to view, with alarm, the growing power of Bardas : being together on an expedition against the Cretans, it chanced, that the tent of the Cæsar was pitched on an hill, that of the emperor on a plain : the jealousy and suspicion of Michael were inflamed : seconded by Basil, prefect of the imperial chamber, he resolved to cut him off : the conspirators rushed upon him with drawn swords, and pierced his heart. (1) Michael, unable alone to govern the empire, and having no legitimate children, adopted Basil, surnamed the Macedonian, and associated him in the empire, on the 26th of May, 867.

Photius, like a true sycophant, did not fail to pay his court to the new emperor : and in a synod. convened with the consent of Michael, lanced back against the pontiff the sentence of excommunication which had been hurled at him, from the council of Rome. (2) The acts of this convention he sent to Italy, notifying the proceedings of the Eastern " Patriarch," and persuading Louis to expel the pontiff from Rome : promising, as the reward of his ser-

(1) Curopolat. ap. Spond. 867. VI.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 867. VII.

vices, to proclaim him emperor, at Constantinople. (1) Against these impieties Basil, sternly and resolutely declared, and used every means to induce the depraved Michael to change his life.

The magnanimity and virtue of Basil soon became insupportable to the emperor, who, to get rid of so importunate a monitor, resolved to put him to death, and associate to the government Basiliscus, an oarsman of the imperial fleet. (2) Accordingly, a courtier was persuaded to assassinate Basil: he attacked him in the chase, but Basil parryed the stroke and afterwards stood upon his guard. But seeing his life in constant danger, with the advice and co-operation of many distinguished men, he inflicted on Michael the fate, which had been intended for himself. (3) Michael was killed in 867: immediately, Basil was conveyed to the palace, and proclaimed emperor. One of his first cares was to recall the legates sent by

(1) It must be remarked, that the emperors of the East did not acknowledge in those of the West, the title of emperor.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 867. VIII.

(3) These details are transmitted to us by Curopolates, Zonaras, Cedrenus and others. Spondan. ubi supra.

Photius to the West ; to expel from the see of Constantinople, and confine in a monastery, the daring and impious eunuch ; and to re-instate, with honour, the persecuted patriarch Ignatius. (1) The wound which the schism of Photius had inflicted on the Oriental church was deep, and alarming, and it became necessary, in order that it might not prove fatal, to apply an efficacious remedy. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome, to consult with the sovereign pontiff: these were on the part of the emperor, Basilus Spatharius ; on the part of Ignatius, John, metropolitan of Sy-leus : the obduracy of Photius was not, however subdued : he had the hardihood to depute to the sovereign pontiff, as a vindicator of his cause, Peter, metropolite of Sardica, one of his most fanatical partizans.

It was not, however, the fortune of Nicholas to welcome to the christian metropolis the harbingers of peace : after a pontificate of nine years and a half, and immense labours for the church, he expired on the 13th of November,

(1) Spondan. ubi supra. IX.

867, and was intombed in the portico of S. Peter's. (1)

From his demise to the consecration of his successor, there intervened but one month : Hadrian II., presbyter, of the title of S. Mark, a man adorned with every virtue, and proverbial for his charity towards the poor, after having twice before refused the tiara, was now induced to ascend the pontifical throne. His chief study was to walk in the path traced out to him by his venerable predecessor : from this, however, circumstances caused him sometimes to deviate : the bishops Theutgaud and Zacharias, the former of Treves, the latter of Anagnina, he received back to the communion : the emperor Lothaire, (this privilege Nicholas refused) he permitted to visit the tomb of the apostles : Waldrada, who feigned to repent, he absolved. (2)

The ambassadors of the emperor and patriarch arrived safely at Rome : those of Photius,

(1) By Regino, Nicholas is extolled above all his predecessors, from the days of S. Gregory the Great : "to priests and religious men he was mild, to the irreligious terrible, so that he might be compared to another Elias." Spondan. 867. XIV. Joan. Diac. vit. S. Greg. lib. 4 in fin.

(2) Spondan. 868. II.

with the exception of a monk by name Methodius, were wrecked. This monk was condemned, convicted of perfidy, anathematized, and sent back to the East. The acts of the conventicle of Photius were examined in a synod held for the purpose at S. Peter's, and ordered to be publicly burnt. The ambassadors were then dismissed with honour; and in their company Hadrian sent to the emperor and patriarch, his legates Donatus, bishop of Ostia, Marinus, deacon of the Roman church, with whom he associated Stephen, a bishop: through them he wrote to the emperor and patriarch, approving the expulsion of Photius and restoration of Ignatius: and exhorting them to convoke an œcumenical council, under the direction of his legates. (1)

In the meanwhile, the emperor Lothaire arrived at Rome, where he was honourably received by the pontiff, and made profession of sincere contrition for his criminal alliance with Waldrada. Having sworn that he fulfilled the conditions imposed by Nicholas, he was admitted to the communion: but before he received

(1) Ext. act. 1. et 3. octav. Syn.

the host, Hadrian addressed him in these words : “ If thy conscience be free from the crime of adultery, since the warning of pope Nicholas, and if thou art resolved never again to have any connexion with Waldrada, approach with confidence, and receive the sacrament of eternal life : but if thy conscience accuse thee, and thou art determined to return to thy vomit, dare not receive what will be to your judgment and condemnation.” Lothaire trembled, but, adding sacrilege to perjury, received the sacred host. Hadrian then presented the sacrament to the lords with these words : “ If you have neither contributed, nor consented, to the crime of your lord and king Lothaire, may the body and blood of Jesus Christ be to you a pledge of eternal life.” (1)

Lothaire did not long remain at Rome, after this fatal ordeal : at Lucca, he was overtaken by the divine vengeance : of his retinue, the greater part was carried off by a malignant and painful disease ; and he himself, reduced to the last extremity, was carried to a monastery near Placenza, where he expired. (2). To

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 968. II.

(2) Aim. Ebb. 5. cap. 21.

Theutberga, the death of her unfaithful husband was a source of heart-felt grief: Waldrada retired, a penitent, into the abbey of Remiremont. (1)

No sooner was Lothaire dead, than Charles the Bald dared to grasp the sceptre of Lorraine, which, of right, should devolve on the emperor Louis: Louis appealed to the pontiff, who immediately declared in his favour, and commanded the bishops and nobles to oppose the pretensions of Charles to a throne, which belonged to Louis, the brother of the deceased king, and his rightful successor. (2) The better to enforce the measure, Hadrian sent a deputation of two bishops to France: but before their arrival, a convention had been held at Metz, under Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and decreed the crown to Charles. (3) Hadrian was not satisfied with the proceedings of the French convention: the crown, he persisted, belonged to Louis, and to him should it be ceded. He wrote to Hincmar a threatening letter, commanding him, and all the bishops in the dominions of Charles, to separate from

(1) Annal. Bert.

(2) Aim. lib. 5. cap. 24.

(3) Vid. Bar. annal. To. X. 869.

the communion of a prince, whom he regarded as an usurper. In reply, Hincmar assumed a tone of defiance ; and attempted to shew that Hadrian was a disturber of the peace of nations : whereas the sovereign pontiff meant only to enforce the laws of justice, especially as the immemorial custom of France required, that the kingdom should be held not by election, or usurpation, but by succession. (1)

To return to the East : the legates of the sovereign pontiff were every where received with honour and exultation : at Constantinople they were greeted by all the clergy, patricians, nobles, and people, who met them at the gates with lighted torches, and rent the air with canticles of welcome. (2)

(1) Spond. ad ann. 870. I. Vid. ep. Hincm. ap. Baron. ann. To. X. hoc. ann.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 869. I.

CHAPTER XIV.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST :

BASIL, CONTINUED.

LEO VI.

OF THE WEST :

LOUIS II., CONTINUED.

CHARLES THE BALD.

CHARLES THE FAT.

POPES.

HADRIAN II., CONTINUED.

JOHN VIII.

MARTIN II.

HADRIAN III.

STEPHEN VI.

*From the eighth general Council, anno 869, to
the expulsion of Photius. Anno 886.*

THE object of the legates was, as the reader saw above, the celebration of a general council at Constantinople : without any delay, the convocation was published, and the church of S Sophia chosen for the purpose. On the appointed day, the bishops assembled : the first place, as usual, was occupied by the legates ; the next by Ignatius ; after them were ranged in their respective situations, the representatives of the other Oriental patriarchates, viz :

Thomas, metropolitan of Tyre, from Antioch, and Elias, from Jerusalem. The emperor Basil was present, together with many of the nobles : the bishops who had constantly and resolutely adhered to Ignatius, now appeared with extraordinary applause : they were twelve in number, of whom five were metropolitans, viz : Nicephorus of Amasea, John of Sylea, Nicetas of Athens, Michael of Rhodes, and Metrophanes of Smyrna : the other bishops were George of Iliopolis, Peter of Troas, Nicetas of Cephaludia, Anastasius of Magnesia, Nicephorus of Crotona, Anthony of Alisa, and Michael of Corcyra. All being seated, Bahanes, a patrician, addressed them in the name of the emperor : and requested the legates to produce their credentials. They, at first, refused, as such a demand was unprecedented. Bahanes replied, that it was not made in derogation from the majesty of the apostolic throne, but on account of the conduct of the late legates Rodoaldus and Zacharias : induced by this explanation, they presented their letters, which were read, first in the original Latin, and then translated into Greek by the royal interpreter.

(1) A formulary, written by Nicholas and sent by Hadrian, was then read and subscribed: and with the wonted acclamations, the first session broke up.

In the second session, held two days after, several bishops who had been consecrated by Methodius or Ignatius, but had sided with Photius, were reconciled to the church: they acknowledged their fault, and implored absolution "through the intercession of the most blessed Virgin Mary and the holy pope Nicholas." (2)

In the third session, held on the 11th of October, the formulary of Nicholas was presented to the other fallen bishops, who refused to sign it, and were not admitted by the council: of these the principal were Theodulus of An-cyra, and Nicephorus of Nice.

In the fourth session, held on the 13th, certain bishops, who had been sent to the council by Photius, boasted that they and their patriarch had been admitted to communion by Nicholas; but this assertion was proved to be

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 869. II. III. To. VIII. Conc. p. 978.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 869. IV.

false, and they were expelled with ignominy.

(1)

In the fifth session, held the 29th, Photius himself was summoned, by the emperor, to appear : to the questions of the council, he pertinaciously refused to give an answer, impiously affecting, as he afterwards declared, “ the silent patience of our Saviour before the synagogue.” Though convicted and condemned on all hands, time was allowed him to do penance ; the clemency of the bishops he rejected with disdain : and in the following session, the bishops of his party dared, not only to defend *him*, but to anathematize his judges. The emperor remonstrated in a calm and persuasive address ; but in vain : they appealed to the canons ; disclaimed the authority of Rome ; and rejected the conditions of reconciliation offered by the charity of the council.

(1) The pretext on which they grounded their assertion was made more manifest in the end of this session : it was customary, at Rome, to admit no strange bishop into the basilick of S. Peter, before making a profession of faith ; they declared that their profession was deemed satisfactory, and on this they grounded the boast, that they had communicated with Nicholas. But it was shewn, that they declared and swore, that they would submit to the judgment of the Holy See ; which oath they violated, and consequently to their former schism, added the crime of perjury. Vide Spondan. ad ann. 869. IV.

In the seventh session, Photius again appeared leaning on a pastoral staff; this Marinus, the legate, ordered to be taken from him : and, unable to subdue his obduracy, the council recited the condemnations issued against him by the Roman pontiffs, and anathema was added by the unanimous consent of all. Then followed loud acclamations in honour of the emperor and empress, Nicholas and Hadrian, Ignatius and the legates, in the midst of which, this session adjourned.

In the eighth session, at the suggestion of the emperor, the writings of Photius against Nicholas, pope, and the patriarch Ignatius, and all other writings in defence of the impostor were burnt : his deception, in affixing to the acts of his synod the signatures of so many bishops, was exposed, and the canon of the Roman council, held under pope Martin, was read, by which the fabricators of such signatures were excluded from penance, except at the hour of death.

The ninth session was not held till the 12th of February, the following year (870) : at this was present the archdeacon John, sent in the

name of Michael, patriarch of Alexandria : he approved of the preceding acts. Many illustrious personages were introduced, who, at the persuasion of Photius, and by the compulsion of the emperor Michael, had given false testimony against Ignatius : they confessed their error, and submitted to the penance enjoined by the council.

The tenth session was celebrated on the last day of February : in this were read the canons drawn up by the fathers of the council, to the number of twenty seven : whatever was done in favour of Ignatius, and against Photius, was confirmed : the acts of the latter were abrogated : and all the bishops who obstinately adhered to him were deposed from their rank and dignity. The errors of the Iconiclasts were again condemned : as also the reveries of Photius respecting two souls in one body. It was ordained, that no person who had not been ten years in ecclesiastical orders, should be raised to the episcopacy : many other canons relating to the discipline of the church were published, and signed, first by the pope's legates, next by the representatives of the patriarchs, then by

the emperor and his sons, and afterwards by the bishops, to the number of an hundred and two. Finally, two synodical letters were sent, one to all the faithful, giving an account of the proceedings and decisions of the council, the other to the sovereign pontiff, praying him to confirm them. (1) And thus terminated the eighth œcumenical council.

Three days later, the legates of the holy see, and of the patriarchs, together with Ignatius and the emperor, assembled to determine a question which had been started by the ambassadors of Michael, king of Bulgaria, namely: to which see, that of Rome, or that of Constantinople, should the Bulgarians, who had lately been converted, be subject? The Greeks asserted that they should be under the jurisdiction of the latter, on the plea, that that region once belonged to the Greek empire: the pontifical legates maintained, that they were subject to the Roman church, as the rights of sees were not determined by the division of kingdoms: but that Epirus, all Thessaly, Dardania, Dacia, and the other provinces

(1) Spond. ad ann. 869. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X.

in Illyricum, now inhabited by the Bulgarians, were formerly under the immediate jurisdiction of Rome: and the Bulgarians, who were totally independent of the Greek empire, when they embraced the christian faith, voluntarily submitted themselves to the Roman church. The Greeks, notwithstanding, persisted in their claim; the legates opposed it with great courage, reserving the dispute, however, to the judgment of the holy see: the patriarch, in the meanwhile, they conjured not to infringe the rights of that church, by which he was restored to his own. (1) This discussion excited the jealousy of the Greeks, and the legates deemed it prudent to precipitate their departure. On their return they fell into the hands of pirates, by whom they were plundered of all they had, and lost the authentic copy of the acts of the council, which would never have been seen by the pontiff, had not another copy been committed to the care of Anastasius the librarian. By the authority of the emperor Louis, the legates were liberated from captivity, and arriv-

(1) Spond. ad ann. 869. XIII.

ed at Rome towards the end of the year 869.

(1)

In the meantime, the Normans continued their devastations along the sea-coasts, and crossed over into England: From Ethelred, who now swayed the sceptre of Wessex, they met with little opposition, poured into Northumbria, made themselves masters of York, and scoured the whole country. (2) The monastery of Bardney they destroyed, and put to death the monks: (3) those of Lindisfarne, Wiremouth, Tynemouth, and Jarrow, shared the same fate. Thence they passed to the abbey of Croyland, of which the abbot Theodore was strangled by Oskytul, a Danish chieftain; the younger monks, in their boats, fled across the lake. (4) Their next attack was on the monastery of Medeshamstede, where Ubbo, a Norman officer, slew the abbot and eighty four monks. (5) Thence they proceeded to Huntingdon, and from the ruins of that place extended their ravages into East-Anglia, where they took the king, Edmund, prisoner, tied him

(1) Vit. Had. Spond, ad ann. 869. XV. (2) Will, Malms. 41.

(3) Lingard, vol. 1, cap. 3, (4) Id. ibid. (5) Id. ibid

to a tree, and shot him to death with arrows.
(1)

In 871, was held in France, at Douzi, a village in the province of Rheims, a synod, the object of which was to investigate the conduct of Hincmar, bishop of Laon, nephew to the celebrated archbishop of Rheims. The indignation of the latter was inflamed against him, for attempting to vindicate the proceedings of Hadrian, respecting the affairs of France; and refusing to consent to the sentence of excommunication issued against Carloman, the son of Charles the Bald. (2) He was also accused of having excommunicated a certain Norman, for accepting from Charles an ecclesiastical benefice, and of having written to the pontiff against the king, contrary to his oath of fealty. To these accusations he had before answered in two synods held, the one at Attigni, the other at Worms; and had appealed to the holy see; (3) and to quiet the doubts of the king, and his uncle Hincmar, sent a new profession

(1) See Leland's collectanea, 1. 222. "Edmund," says Dr. Lingard, "was revered as a martyr by his subjects and their posterity."

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 871. IV.

(3) Id. ibid.

of fealty to his sovereign; obedience to his metropolitan. (1) But this did not satisfy the hardy soul of his uncle: he was forcibly arraigned before the synod, and tyrannically deposed by the authority of the king: after which he was sent into exile, where he was loaded with chains, and finally deprived of his eyes. (2)

An account of this transaction was immediately forwarded to the sovereign pontiff; who replied by two letters to the king, the first requesting, the second commanding, him, to suffer the condemned prelate to lay his case, in person, before the holy see: the king answered, in a tone of defiance; assuring Hadrian, that the language, which he addressed to the king of France, was unprecedented, and intimating, that should he ever send a similar letter, he would expose himself to contempt, and his legates to disgrace. (3) By this quarrel, the death of Hadrian, which was gradually approaching, was probably accelerated: he ex-

(1) Aimon. lib. 5. cap. 24. in. fin.

(2) Spondan. ubi supr.

(3) These letters are cited by Baronius, annal. To. X. ann. 870. 871.

pired on the first day of November, 872, having sat four years. The holy see remained vacant until the fourteenth of January; when it was again filled by John, archdeacon of the Roman church, the eighth of the style. (1) The emperor Louis dying about three years after, the sovereign pontiff sent an honourable embassy to Charles the Bald, inviting him to the tombs of the apostles: of this invitation he accepted, and was crowned emperor, on christmas day, in 875. During his absence, Louis, king of Germany, devastated Gaul, and attempted to grasp, by main force, the imperial sceptre: from this, however, he was deterred by the menaces of the bishops, with Hincmar at their head, who were about to declare him excommunicated, when he suddenly retired to his dominions, and died soon after at Frankfurt. (2)

On his return to France, Charles was acknowledged by the whole nation: and his right was confirmed by a synod held at Pontion, at

(1) Spondan. ad ann. 872. V.

(2) Aim. lib. 5. cap. 31. Ibid. cap. 32.

which the pope's legates presided, and the emperor himself was present. (1)

The death of Louis, king of Germany, opened a wide field to the ambition of Charles : and with a formidable army, he marched to take possession of his kingdom. Louis, the son of the late king, beheld with alarm, the gathering storm : having, in vain, sued for peace, and feelingly appealed to the kindred blood that warmed the veins of them both, he had recourse to prayer, and fasting, to propitiate the mercy of heaven. From his entreaties and his piety, the emperor turned with derision : no alternative was now left : either to rush to battle, or to resign a crown to which he was justly entitled. He preferred the former : and though his forces were incomparably inferior to those of the emperor, with an almost preternatural courage, he sallied forth to the field, and completely routed the enemy. (2)

The invasion, by Charles, of his nephew's dominions, was viewed in silence by the pon-

(1) Spond. ad ann. 876. I. II. The objections started by Goldast the calvinist, on this affair, have been, as usual, refuted by the Jesuit Gretærus.

(2) Aim. lib. 5. cap. 35.

tiff, who looked to France for succour and protection against the inroads of the Normans : in a letter, on this subject, John depicted, in the most glowing colours, the calamities occasioned by the barbarians, in Italy : (1) Charles immediately summoned a general assembly of the nation ; levied a tribute, not only on the laity, but with their consent on the clergy also, and leaving the administration of the kingdom to Louis, marched into Italy : at Vercelli he was met by the pontiff, with great pomp, and they proceeded together as far as Pavia ; there they learned, that Carloman, the son of Louis king of Germany, was on his march to Tortona, with an hostile army : Charles was betrayed by his friends, and fled : John hastened to Rome : but Carloman being falsely informed, that they had collected a formidable army, precipitately returned to his dominions. (2) Charles, after his flight, had fallen sick : and was poisoned by his physician, a Jew, by name Sedechias. (3) The imperial diadem then devolved on his son Louis, surnamed the Stammerer. By this sudden catastrophe, the pon-

(1) Joan. ep. 54.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 877. V.

(3) Aimon. lib. 5. cap. 35. in fin.

tiff was deprived of assistance, Rome was harassed by the civil feuds excited by Lambert, duke of Spoleto; and to check the incursions of the Saracens, it became necessary to pay them the annual tribute of twenty thousand marks of silver. (1) The evil did not stop here: by Lambert the pontiff was put into close custody, and the Romans were compelled to swear in favour of Corloman. Amid this scene of distress, John determined to depart into Gaul: taking with him the most precious relics, and Formosus, bishop of Porto, he set sail and arrived at Arles on the feast of pentecost. (2) At Troies, he convoked a general synod, excommunicated Lambert, duke of Spoleto, and his associate, Adalbert, duke of Tuscany: in this synod, the complaint of Hincmar, of Laon, was heard, the grievances suffered from his uncle, the archbishop of Rheims, were examined, and he was restored to his see, and allowed a part of the revenues, the other part continuing to Hedenalph, who had been consecrated in his stead, after his expulsion. (3) Shortly after this John returned to his metropolis.

(1) Spond. ubi sup. VIII.

(2) Aimon. lib. 5. cap. 37.

(3) Aimon. lib. 5. cap. 37. Ado. in fin. Chron. Conc. To. IX.

The right to the jurisdiction over the Bulgarian church, though still disputed by the Greeks, was courageously vindicated by the Roman pontiff: in a letter to Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, he commands him, under pain of excommunication and deposition, to recall, within the space of thirty days, all the bishops and priests whom he had sent to Bulgaria; in another to Michael, king of that province, he exhorts him to return to the authority of the Roman church: in a third to the Greek bishops and priests in Bulgaria, he deprives them of their faculties, if in thirty days, they would not quit the country. (1)

This dissension awoke once more, the hopes and the courage, of Photius: he deemed this a propitious moment to insinuate himself into the favour of Basil: by flattery he compassed his object: he pretended to trace up the origin of the emperor to the far-famed Tiridates; and, from certain ancient manuscripts, augured, that his reign should be long and glorious. The worm gnawed its way into the heart of Basil: Photius was recalled from exile, and al

(1) Joan. ep. 75. 76. 77. 78.

lowed to remain at Constantinople. (1) Ignatius, soon after, died, (his death it appears was accelerated by Photius,) in his seventieth year: every obstacle was now removed, to the ambition, cruelty, and impiety of the eunuch: he immediately seized again on the patriarchal chair, rifled and profaned the sepulchre of Ignatius, inflicted on his friends a barbarous revenge, and threw the Oriental church into combustion. The emperor, however, supported him, and deputed an embassy to Rome, praying the pontiff to receive him into communion, and confirm his restoration. The intruder did not fail to write by this favourable opportunity, assuring the pope, that he was forced by the Oriental church, and the whole empire, to re-ascend the patriarchal throne: and that the bishops consecrated by Ignatius and Methodius, anxiously desired it. By these false assurances the pontiff was blinded, and pusillanimously confirmed the restoration of Photius, with these conditions: 1. that after his death no layman should succeed him; 2. that he should have no jurisdiction over Bulgaria.

(1) Spond. ad ann. 878. VII.

(1) The letter, confirming his re-instatement, was forwarded to the emperor through the legates Paul and Eugenius, bishops. As soon as this intelligence was received, Photius convoked a synod, before which he read the letter of John, translated, mutilated, and altered, by himself: the legates suffered themselves to be duped, and even descended to flatter, in a fulsome manner, the audacious intruder. To the acts of this synod they not only contributed but gave their approbation; and condemned the proceedings of the eighth general council, against Photius. Of the bishops present (there were three hundred and eighty three in number) one only, the metropolitan of Smyrna, Metrophanes, refused to co-operate in this scandalous affair: and notwithstanding the threats of the legates, absented himself from the pseudo-council. (2) But if the pontiff evinced extraordinary weakness in confirming the re-appointment, he had courage enough to condemn the

(1) In consequence of this weakness in yielding what had been so courageously withheld by his predecessors Nicholas and Hadrian, John was contumeliously styled "the she-pope;" and to this circumstance it is more than probable the fable, to which I alluded above, of Juan, traces its invention. Vide Spondan. 879. III.

(2) To. VIII. Conc.

synod, of Photius. On receiving authentic information of the conduct of his legates, and the proceedings of the council, he sent to Constantinople Marinus, a man of unbending fortitude, to undo all that had been done. His function Marinus discharged with a greatness of soul that deserves immortality; and though he suffered much, publicly and explicitly condemned the acts of what the Orientals styled the eighth general council. (1)

In the West, the Normans were spreading devastation: to break their violence John invited to Rome Charles, surnamed the Fat, king of the Franks, and crowned him emperor, on Christmas day, 881, (2) and the year after, worn out with grief, he expired on the 15th of December, after a pontificate of ten years. (3) He was, thirteen days after, succeeded by the distinguished legate Marinus, who, unfortunately for the Church, sat but one year.

Shortly after John, died Hincmar, archbishop

(1) MS. Bibl. Colon.

(2) Aimon. lib. 5. 60.

(3) Spondan. ad ann. 882. III. Under this pontiff the privileges of cardinals were defined in a constitution which is still extant: their number was limited to seventy: they formed a counsel for the sovereign pontiff, and were accustomed to convene twice in the week in the sacred palace. See Spondan. ubi sup.

of Rheims, after having governed that church during more than thirty seven years, at a period, when the Normans were carrying desolation and wo into the heart of France. (1) To Marinus succeeded Hadrian III., who governed the Church but one year, and was succeeded by Stephen VI., whose piety and other shining virtues, are recorded by Anastasius. He had hardly been consecrated, before there arrived from the emperor Basil a letter addressed to Hadrian, filled with the most bitter invective against him and Marinus. To this, Stephen replied in a strain becoming the majesty of the holy see; cleared his predecessors of the calumnies, and severely reproved him for supporting the excommunicated usurper Photius, and opposing the judgment of that see to which he should submit with veneration. (2) Before this letter reached Constantinople, Basil had died of a wound received in the chase, after a reign of twenty one years. His body was not consigned to the tomb, before his son Leo XI., surnamed the Philosopher, ascended the imperial throne. His first care was to se-

(1) *Frod. hist. Rhem. lib. 5. cap. 17.* *Aim. lib. 1. 61.*

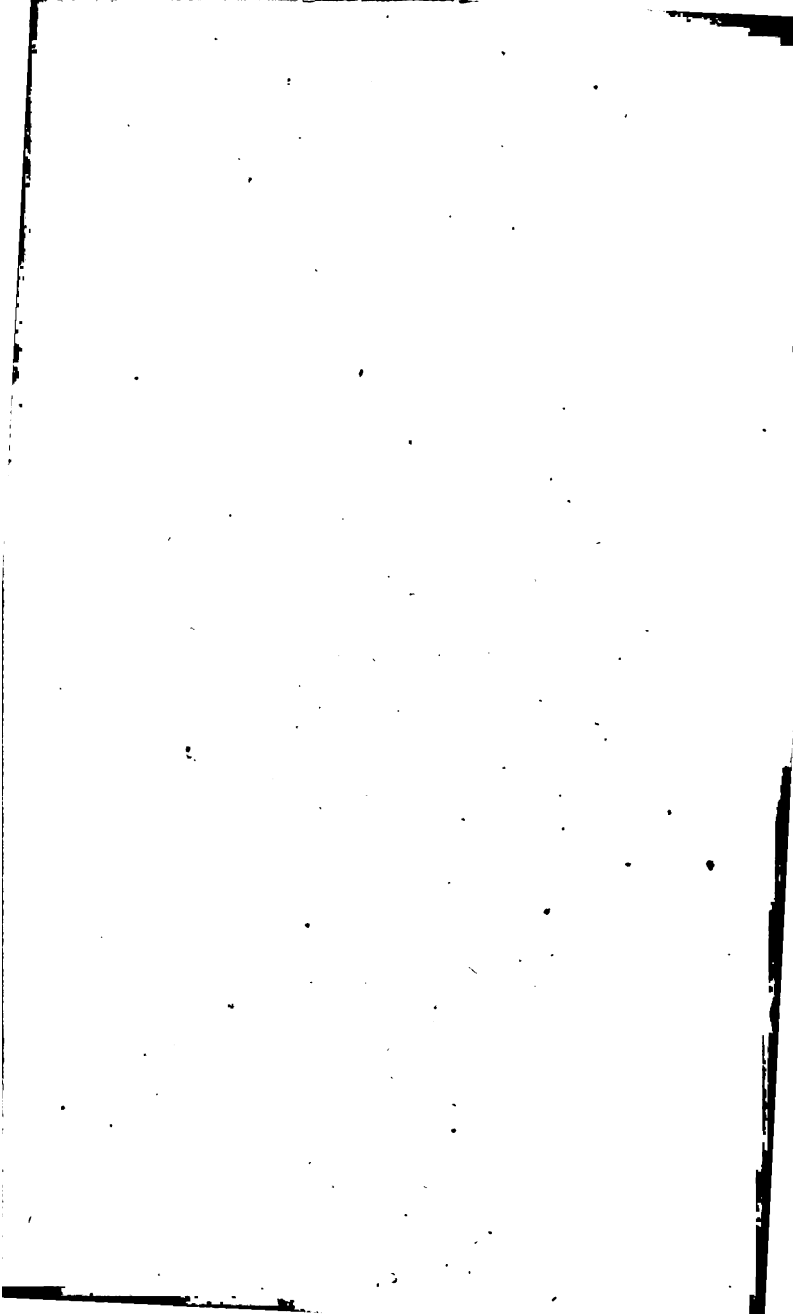
(2) It is cited at length by *Barronius, annal. To. X. 885.*

cure himself against the machinations of Photius, whom he ordered to be deposed and shut up in a monastery : from this period, that extraordinary imposter disappears from the stage forever : what became of him afterwards, and where, or how he died, is unknown : a cloud of obscurity envelopes his decline from the curiosity and scrutiny of posterity. (1) Stephen, the youngest brother of the emperor, was raised, with the consent of the Roman pontiff, to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople.

(1) Spondan. 886. VI.

END OF VOL. III.









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